



# BERNIER'S VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES.

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY OF THE LATE REVOLUTION OF  
THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGUL.

TOGETHER WITH THE MOST CONSIDERABLE PASSAGES  
FOR FIVE YEARS FOLLOWING IN THAT EMPIRE.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

*A letter to the Lord Colbert, touching the extent of Hindustan  
the circulation of the Gold and Silver of the World, to  
discharge itself there; as also the Riches, Forces, and  
Justice of the same; and the principal Cause of the  
Decay of the States of Asia.*

WITH AN EXACT DESCRIPTION OF DELHI AND AGRA.

TOGETHER WITH

- I. Some Particulars making known the Court and Genius of the Moguls and Indians; as also the Doctrine and extravagant Superstitions and Customs of the Heathens of Hindustan.
- II. The Emperor of Mogul's Voyage to the Kingdom of Kasmere; in 1664, called the Paradise of the Indies.

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## **PREFACE.**

As a study of today is neither possible nor profitable without reference to yesterday, a scrap of past records thus becomes precious to a nation, awakened to its latent potentialities and determined to make the best use of them. We have been all these years trying our level best to awaken the Indo-Aryan races to their past glory and to their future possibilities, and in this volume we propose to place in the hands of the Indian nation the evidences and observations of a trusted eye-witness in the court of Aurungzeb, when the Mogul Empire was in its Zenith of glory, and whence that sun began to slide down.

To see ourselves with the eyes of others is absolutely necessary to form a proper estimate of ourselves, and other eyes are best suited to point out where a repair or an alteration is required. The eyes that saw and recorded the following pages were the keenest, and the book is therefore of inestimable value to all Indians, who are willing to profit by the lessons of the past, and to all who are interested in India.





*An Extract of a Letter written to Mr. H. O. from  
Monsieur De Monceaux, the younger, giving a Character  
of the book here englished, and its Author.*

VIRTUE sometimes is no less interested than affection ; both, Sir, are glad to receive, from time to time, pledges mutually answering for those that have united themselves in a close correspondence. Yours, indeed, should demand of me, such as might be a security to you for the advance you have been pleased to make me of your friendship. But since at present I have nothing worth presenting you with, and yet am unwilling to give you any leisure to be diffident of my realness, or to repent for having so easily given me a share in your esteem, I here send you a relation of Indostan, in which you will find such considerable occurrences, as will make you confess, I could not convey to you a more acceptable present, and that Monsieur Bernier, who hath written it is a very gallant man, and of a mould I wish all travellers were made of. We ordinarily travel more out of unsettledness than curiosity, with a design to see towns and countries rather than to know their inhabitants and productions ; and we stay not long enough in a place to inform ourselves well of the government, policy, interests. and manners of its people. Monsieur Bernier, after he he had benefited himself for the space of many years, but the converse of the famous Gassendi, seen him expire in his arms, succeeded him in his knowledge, and inherited his opinions and discoveries, embarked for Egypt, stayed above a whole year at Cairo, and then took the occasion of some Indian vessels, that trade in the ports of the Red Sea, to pass to Surat ; and after twelve years abode at the court of the Great Mogul, is at last come to seek his rest in his native country, there to give an account of his conservations and discoveries, and to pour

out into the bosom of France, what he has amassed in India.

Sir, I shall say nothing to you of his adventures, which you will find in the relations that are to follow hereafter, which he abandons to the greediness of the curious, who prefer their satisfaction to his quiet, and do already persecute him to have the sequel of this history, Neither shall I mention to you the hazards he did run, by being in the neighbourhood of Mecca ; nor of his prudent conduct, which made him merit the esteem of his generous Fazelkhan, who since is become the first minister of that great empire, whom he taught the principal languages of Europe, after he had translated for him the whole philosophy of Gassendi in Latin, and whose leave he could not obtain to go home, till he had got for him a select number of our best European books, thereby to supply the loss he should suffer of his person. This, at least, I can assure you of, that never a traveller went from home more capable to observe, nor hath written with more knowledge, candour, and integrity ; that I knew him at Constantinople, and in some towns of Greece, of so excellent a conduct, that I proposed him to myself for a pattern in the design I then had, to carry my curiosity as far as the place where the sun riseth ; that I have often drowned, in the sweetness of his entertainment, the bitter-nesses, which else I must have swallowed all alone, in such irksome and unpleasant passages as are those of Asia.

Sir, you will do me a pleasure to let me know the sentiment your illustrious society hath of this piece. Their approbation begets much emulation among the intelligent who all have no other ambition than to please them. I myself must avow to you, that if I thought I could merit so much I should not so stiffly oppose, as I do, the publication of the observations and notes I have made in the Levent. I should suffer my friends to take them out of my cabinet,

where from the slight value I have for them, they are likely to lie imprisoned, except the King, my master, by whose order I undertook those voyages, should absolutely command me to set them at liberty, and to let them take their course in the world. Meantime, Sir, you will oblige me, to assure those great men, who this day compose the most knowing company on earth, of the veneration I have for the oracles that come from their mouth, and that I prefer their Lyceum before that of Athens; and lastly, that of all their admirers, there is none that hath a greater concern in their glory, than

DE MONCEAUX,

*Paris, July, 16, 1670.*



## THE HISTORY OF THE LATE REVOLUTION, &c.

1. What Depth of Policy and Craft was used by Aureng-Zebe, the heroes of this History, and the third of the four Sons of Shah-Jehan, the Great Mogul, to supplant all his brothers, and to settle himself in the Throne; and how the first Foundation thereof was laid by the Visier of the King of Golconda, and the Sickness of Shah-Jehan the Father of Aureng-zebe.—2. A Mixture of Love Intrigues, practised by the Princess Begum-Shaheb, one of the two Daughters of the Great Mogul, Shah-Jehan.—3. How Aurang-Zebe, having overcome all his Brothers, did secure his Father, and others, whom he had Cause to be jealous of.—4. How the Neighbours of the Empire of Mogul demeaned themselves towards the now Emperor, Aurang-Zebe; and what Embassies were despatched to him, first by the Usbec-Tartars (where a Description of that Country and People;) then the Dutch of Surat; as also from Macca, from Arabia Felix, from Ethiopia and Persia; together with an Account of their respective Instructions, Receptions, Entertainments and Dismissions; particularly of that of the Hollanders, securing and improving their Trade by their Embassy.—5. Aurang-Zebe's singular Prudence, and indefatigable Pains, in managing the Government himself and how he treated him that endeavoured to persuade him to take his Ease and Pleasure, now he was established.—6. Aurang-Zebe's Distaste against his favourite Sister, Rauchenara-Begum occasioned by some Love-Cabals.—7. His great Care in appointing a Governor and Tutor to his third Son Sultan-Ekbar.—8. With what Wisdom and Severity Aurang-Sebe received and treated his pedantic Tutor who expected to be made a great Lord for his former Service; together with a Model for the suitable Education

of a great Prince, prescribed by Aurang-Zebe on this Occasion.—9. In what Credit judiciary Astrology is over all Asia.—10. How the Kings of India make themselves Heirs of all the Estates of those that die in their Service.—11. Of the reciprocal Appearance of Kindness between Aurang-Zebe and his imprisoned Father and Sister.—12. What passed between Aurang-Zebe and Amir Jemla who had laid the first Ground-work to Aurang-Zebe's Greatness.—13. What in those Revolutions was transacted about the Bay of Bengal, and the beathen Kingdom of Rakan.—14. How Aurang-Zebe carried himself towards his two eldest Sons, Sultan-Mahomed and Sultan-Mabum; and how, for a Trial of the Obedience and Courage of the latter, he commended him to kill a certain Lion, that did great Mischief in the Country; together with the Success thereof.—15. Divers Particulars, shewing the Interest between Hindusthan and Persia, supposed by this Author to be unknown, or at least not well known hitherto.—16. How generously Aurang-Zebe recompensed those that had faithfully served him in those Revolutions.—17. Some account of that small Kingdom of Kashmere, or Kashmere, represented as the Paradise of the Indies; concerning which the Author affirms that he hath a particular History of it in the Persian Tongue.—18. A considerable Relation of Surat's being strangely surprized and plundered by a stout Rebel of Vijapour; and how the Duke and Dutch saved themselves and their Treasure in this bold Eenteprize.—19. The latter Account both of the former and present State of the whole Peninsula of India; the Occasion of its Division into divers Sovereignties, and the several Arts used to maintain themselves one against another; particularly of the present Government and State of the Kingdom of Golconda and Vijapour and their interests in reference to the Great Mogul.—20. Of the Extent of Hindusthan, and the Trade which the English, Portuguese, and Honahders have in that Empire; as also the

vast Quantities of Gold and Silver, circulated through the World, and conveyed into Hindusthan, and there swallowed up as in an Abyss.—21. Of the many Nations, which in that vast Extent of Country cannot be well kept in subjection by the Great Mogul.—22. Of the Great Mogul's Religion, which is Mahomedan, or the Turkish not Persian Sect.—23. Of his Militia, both in the Field and about his person ; and how the same is provided for, employed, punctually paid, and carefully distributed in several Places.—24. Of the Omrahs, that is, the great Lords of Hindusthan ; their several Qualities, Offices, Attendants.—25. The Artillery of the Moguls, great and small, very considerable.—26. Of his Stables of Horses, Elephants, Camels, Mules, etc.—27. Of his Seraglio.—28. Of his vast Revenues and Expences.—29. What Prince may be said to be truly rich.—30. An important State Question debated, viz., Whether it be more expedient for the Prince and People, that the Prince be the sole Proprietor of all the Lands of the Country over which he reigns, yea or no ?





## BERNIER'S VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES.

THE desire of seeing the world having made me travel into Palestine and Egypt, would not let me stop there; it put me upon a resolution to see the Red Sea from one end to the other. I went from Grand Cairo, after he had staid there about a year; and in two and thirty hours, going to caravan pace, I arrived at Suez, where I embarked in a gally, which in seventeen days carried me, always in sight of land, to the port of Cidda, which is half a day's journey from Mecca. There I was constrained (contrary to my hopes, and the promise which the Beig of the Red Sea had made me,) go to ashore on that pretended holy land of Mahomet, where a Christian, that is not a slave, dares not set his foot. I staid there four and thirty days, and then I embarked in a small vessel, which in fifteen days carried me along the coast of Arabia, the Happy, to Moca, near the streight of Babel Mandeb. I resolved to pass thence to the isle of Masowa and Arkiko, to get as far as Gouder, the capital town of the country of Alebech, or the kingdom of Æthiopia; but I received certain information, that since the Portuguese had been killed there by the intrigue of the Queen Mother, or expelled, together with the Jesuit patriarch, whom they had brought thither from Goa, the Roman Catholics were not safe there, a poor capuchin having lost his head at Suaken, for having attempted to enter into that kingdom: that indeed, by going under the name of a Greek or an Armenian, I did not run so great hazard, and that even the King himself, when he should know that I could do him service, would give me land to till by slaves, which I might buy if I had money; but that undoubtedly they would forthwith oblige me to marry, as they had lately done a certain stair who had passed there under the name of a Greek physician: and that they would never suffer me to come away again.

These considerations, among others, induced me to change my resolution. I went aboard of an Indian vessel, I passed those strights, and in two and twenty days I arrived at Surat in Hindusthan, the empire of the Great Mogul, in the year 1655. There I found, that he who then reigned there was called Shah-Jehan, that is to say, King of the world; who, according to the history of that country, was son of Jehan-Guyre, which signifieth conqueror of the world: grandchild of Akbar, which is great; and that thus ascending by Houmayons, or the fortunate, father of Akbar, and and his other predecessor, he was the tenth of those that were descended from that Timur-Lengue, which signifieth the lame prince, commonly and corruptly called Tamerlane, so renowned for his conquests; who married his near kinswomen, the only daughter of the Prince of the nations of Great Tartery, called Moguls, who have left and communicated their name to the strangers that now govern Hindusthan, the country of the Indians; though those that are employed in public charges and offices, and even those that are listed in the militia, be not all of the race of the Moguls, but strangers, and nations gathered out of all countries, most of them Persians, some Arabians, and some Turks. For, to be esteemed a Mogul, it is enough to be a stranger, white of face, and a Mahometan; in distinction as well to the Indians who are brown, and Pagans, as to the Christians of Europe who are called Franguis.

I found also at my arrival, that this King of the world, Shah-Jehan, of above seventy years of age, had four sons and two daughters; that some years since, he had made these four sons vice kings, or governors of four of his most considerable provinces or kingdoms; that it was almost a year that he was fallen into a great sickness, whence it was believed he would never recover; which had occasioned a great division among these four brothers (all laying claim to the empire) and had kindled among them a war which

lasted about five years, which I design here to describe, having been present at some of the most considerable actions, and entertained for the space of eight year at that court, where fortune and the small stock of money left me (after divers encounters with robbers, and the expences of a voyage of six and forty days from Surat to Agra and Delhi, the capital towns of that empire), obliged me to take a salary from the Grand Mogul in the quality of a physician, and a little while after from Danech-mend-Khan, the most knowing man of Asia, who had been Bakchis, or great master of the horse, and was one of the most powerful and most considerable Omrahs or lords of that court.

The eldest of these four sons of Shah-Jehan was called Dara, that is Darius. The second was called Sultan Sujah, that is, the valiant prince. The name of the third was Aurang-Zebe, which signifies, the ornament of the throne. That of the fourth was Morad Bakche, as if you should say desire accomplished. Of the two daughters, the eldest was called Begum-Saheb, that is, the mistress princess; and the youngest Rachenara-Begum, which is as much as bright princess, or the splendour of princesses.

It is the custom of the country, to give such names to their princess and princesses. Thus the wife of Shah-Jehan so renowned for her beauty, and for having a tomb, which much more deserved to be reckoned among the wonders of the world, than those unshapen masses, and those heaps of stones in Egypt, was called Taj-Mahal, that is to say, the crown of the Seraglio; and the wife of Jehan-Guyre, who hath so long governed the state, whilst her husband minded nothing but drinking and divertisements, was first called Nour-Mehalle, and afterwards, Nur-Jehan-Begum, the light of the seraglio, the light of the world. The reason why they give such kind of names to the [great ones, and not names from their land or dominion (as is usual in Europe)] is because all the land being the King's there are no marquies.

sates, earldoms and duchies, of which the grantees might bear their names; all consists in pensions, either of land or ready money, which the King giveth, increaseth, retrencheth and takes away as seems good unto him: and it is even for this reason, that the omrahs have also no other but such names; one (for example) being called Raz-Audaze-Khan, *i. e.* a thunderer; another, Safe Chekan Khan, a breaker of ranks; a third, Bare-Audaze-Khan, a man of lightning; others, Dianet-Khan, or Danech-mend-Khan, or Fazul-Khan, *i. e.* the faithful lord, the intelligen, the perfect, and the like.

Dara the eldest son, wanted not good qualities. He was gallant in conversation, witty in repartees, exceeding civil and liberal, but entertained too good an opinion of his person, esteeming himself alone capable of all, and thinking it scarce possible that any body was able to give him council; inso much that he would give reproachful names to those who pretended to advise him in any thing; whereby it came to pass, that even those who were most affectionate to him were shy to discover to him the most secret intrigues of his brothers. Besides, he was apt to be transported with passion, to menace, to injure, to affront even the greatest Omrahs or lords; but all passed over like a flash of light. Though he was a Mahomedan, and publicly expressed in the ordinary exercises of religion to be so, yet in private, he was heathen and christian with the Christians. He had constantly about him of those heathen doctors, to whom he gave very considerably pensions, and who (as was said) had instilled into him opinions contrary to the religion of the land; of which I may touch something hereafter, when I shall come to speak of the religion of the Indians or Gentiles. He also hearkened of late very willingly to the revered Father Buzee, a Jesuit, and began very well to relish what he suggested. Yet there are some who say, that at the bottom he was void of all religion, and that whatever he pretended in it, was only for curiosity; or, as others

without under their tents ; they not liking to be shut up twenty-four hours in a fortress, nor so much as ever to go thither but well attended with men resolute to be cut in pieces as their service ; as has appeared, when they have been ill dealt withal.

The Mogul is obliged to keep the Rajas in his service for sundry seasons. The first, because the militia of the Rajas is very good (as was said above), and because there are Rajas (as was innimated also), one of whom can bring into the field above twenty-five thousand men. The second, the better to bridle the other Rajas, and to reduce them to reason, when they cantonize, or when they refuse to pay tribute, or when out of fear or other cause they will not go out of their country to the army when the Mogul requirerth it. The third, the better to nourish jealousies and keenness amongst them by favouring and caressing the one more than the other, which is done to that degree, that they proceed to fight with one another very frequently.

The fourth to employ them against the Pathans, or against his own Omrahs and governors, in case any of them should rise.

The fifth, to employ them against the King of Golconda, when he refuseth to pay his sribute, or when he will defend the King of Vizapore, or some Rajas his neighbours, which the Mogul hath a mind to rifle, or to make his tributaries ; the Mogul in those cases not daring to trust his Omrah over much, who most are Persians, and not of the same religion with him, but Shias, like the Kings of Persia and Golkonda.

The sixth, and the most considerable of all is to employ them against the Persians upon occasion ; not daring then also to confide his Omrahs, who for the greatest part, as was just now said, are Persians, and consequently have no stomach to fight against their natural king ; and the less because they believe him to be their Imam, their Caliph, or

high-priest, descended from Aly, and against whom, therefore they believe they cannot make war without a crime or a great sin.

The Mogul is further obliged to entertain some Pathans for the same, or somewhat like reasons that he doth the Rajas.

At last he must entertain that stranger militia of the Moguls that we have taken notice of; and as this is the main strength of his state, and which obliges him to incredible charges, methinks it will not be amiss to describe to you of what nature it is, though I should be somewhat long in doing it.

Let us therefore consider, if you please, this stranger militia, both cavalry and infantry, as divided into two; the one being always near the Mogul's person; the other dispersed up and down in the several provinces. And in the cavalry that is about his person, let us first take notice of the Omrahs; then, Munsebdars; next, of the Rousinders; last of all, of the simple horsemen. From thence let us proceed to the infantry, in which we shall consider the musqueteers, and all those men on foot that attend the ordnance; where something will occur to be said of their artillery.

It is not to be thought, that the Omrahs or lords of the Moghul's court are sons of great families as in France: all the lands of that empire being the Moghul's property, it follows that there are neither duchies, nor marquisiats, nor any family rich in land, and subsisting of its own income and patrimony. And often enough they are not so much as Omrah's sons, because the king being heir of all their estates, it is consequent that the houses cannot subsist long in their greatness; on the contrary they often fall, and that on a sudden, insomuch that the sons, or at least the grandsons of a potent Omrah, are frequently after the death of their father, reduced in a manner to beggery, and obliged

to list themselves under some Omrahs for simple horsemen. it is true, that ordinarily that the Mogul leaves small pension to the widow, and often also to the children ; or if the father liveth too long, he may, by particular favour, advance them sooner, especially if they be proper men, white of face, having as yet not too much of the Indian complexion and temper, and so passing yet for true Moguls, though this advancement by favour do always proceed in a slow pace, it being almost a general custom that a man must pass from small pays and small places to great ones. These Omrahs then are commonly but adventurers and strangers of all sorts of nations, such as I have said, which draw one another to this court ; men of a mean descent, some of them slaves ; most of them without instruction, which the Mogul thus raiseth to dignities as he thinks good, and degrades them again as he pleaseth.

Amongst these Omrahs, some are Hazary, others Don Hazary, others Penge, Hecht, and Deh Hazary, and even (such as was the king's eldest son), Dovazdeh Hazary, that is to say, lord of a thousand horse. of two thousand, five thousand, seven, ten, and twelve thousand, their pay being less or more in proportion to the number of the horses ; I say horses, because they are not paid in respect of the horsemen, but of the horse ; the Omrahs having power to entertain horsemen of two horses a man, to be the better able to serve in the hot countries, where it is a common saying, that the horseman that hath but one horse, is more than half a footman. Yet we must not think that they are obliged to entertain, or that the king effectively pays so many horse, as these great names of Dovazden, or Hech Hazary so import, that is, 13,000 or 8,000 horse. These are specious names to amusement of some strangers ; the king determines the number of horses in actual service, which they are bound to entertain, pays them according to this number, and besides that, which of them a certain number



which they are not bound to entertain, and this is that they make the principal part of their pensions, not to speak of what they finger out of the pay of every horseman. and the number of the horses, which certainly amounts to very considerable pensions, especially if they can obtain good Jah-ghirs, that, is good lands for their pensions. For I saw that the Lord, under whom I was, that was a Pengehazary, or one of five thousand horse, and who was only obliged to entertain five hundred in effect, had, after all his cavalry was paid, remaining for his pension near five thousand crowns a month, though he was Nagdy, that is, paid in money drawn out of the treasury, as all those that have not lands. Yet notwithstanding all these great pensions, I see none but very few, that are rich, but many that are uneasy and indebted, not that they are ruined by keeping too plentiful tables as elsewhere great Lords frequently are; but that which exhausteth them, are the great presents which they are obliged to make to the king at certain festival of the year, every one after the rate of his pay: next, the vast expences they must be at for entertaining their wives, servants, camels, and many horses of great value, which they keep in their particular stables.

The number of the Omrahs, aswell as those that are in the field in the provinces and armies, as of those that are at the court, is very great. I never could precisely learn it, nor is it deterrnied: but I have never seen less of them at court than twenty-five or thirty, that are thus pensioneries according to a greater or lesser number of horses to be entertained by them, from 12,000 downwards to 1,000. These are the Omrahs that arrive to the governments and principal offices of the court and armies, that are, as they speak, the pillars of the empire, and that keep up the splendour of the court, never going abroad, but richly decked, sometimes riding on elephants, sometimes on horseback, sometimes carried on a paleky or chair, commonly attended

by a good number of horsemen, to wit, of those that have the guard at that time, as also by many footmen marching before and on his sides, to make way, to drive away the flies, to take off the dust with peacocks' tails, to carry water for drink, and sometimes books of accounts, or other papers.

All those that are at court, are obliged, under a considerable penalty, to come twice every day to salute the king in the assembly, once about ten or eleven o'clock in the morning, when he renders justice; and the second time, about six hours at night. They are also obliged by turns to keep the guard in the castle once a week, during twenty-four hours. Thither they carry at that time their beds, tapisseries and other moveables, the king furnishing them with nothing but provisions to eat and drink, which they receive with great reverence, making a treble obeysance, with their faces turned to his apartment, their hands down to the ground, and then lifted up down their heads. Besides, they are obliged on horseback, to follow the king whithersoever he marcheth, in any weather, whether rainy or dusty, whether he be carried in his chair, or on an elephant, or a gold throne, which last is done by eight men carrying him on their shoulders, eight others marching on his side, to relieve the others, himself being in all marches well covered from the inconveniences of the weather, whether he go to war or to hunt, or to exercise his soldiery. And this attendance those Omrahs are to give except some of them be exempted by the Mogul because of their peculiar offices, or upon the account of sickness or old age, or to avoid embarrassment, as commonly it is practised, when he goeth only to some neighbouring town to hunt, or to some house of pleasure, or to the mosque, there being then seldom any about him but there that keep guard that day.

Munsebdars are cavaliers of Munseb, which is a particular

and honourable pay ; not so great indeed, as that of the Omrahs, but much greater than that of the others ; they being esteemed as little Omrahs, and of the rank of those that are raised to that dignity.

These acknowledge also none for their head but the king and they are generally obliged to whatever we have said the Omrahs are. In a word, they would be true Omrahs if they had, as divers heretofore have had, some horsemen under them, whereas they have ordinarily but two four, or six horses having the king's mark, and their pay goes no higher than from 200, to 600 or 700 rupees a month. their number also is not fixed, but much exceeds that of the Omrahs, there being of them at the court always two or three hundred, besides those that are in the provisions and armies.

Rouzindars are also a sort of cavaliers, but such as have their pay by the day, (as the word itself imports), which yet sometimes is greater than that of many Munsebdars, but not so honourable ; but then they are not bound, as the Munsebdars, to take at a set price (which sometimes is not too reasonable), of those tapisseries and other household stuff that hath served for the king's place. Their number is very great : they enter into the meaner offices, many of them being clerks, under-clerks, signet men, and the like.

Simple cavaliers are those that are under the Omrahs, amongst whom the most considerable, and having most pay, are those that have two horses, marked on the leg with the marks of their Omrah. Their pay is not absolutely fixed, but depends chiefly from the generosity of the Omrah, who may favour whom he pleaseth. Yet the Mogul's intention is, that the pay of a simple cavalier, or horseman be no less than twenty-five rupees or thereabout a month, stating his account with the Omrahs, upon that foot.

The pay of the foot is the least ; and their musqueteers are pitiful men, unless they discharge when their musquet

leans on that small wooden fork hanging to it; yet even then they are afraid of singeing their great beards, and of burning their eyes, but most of all, let some Dgen or evil spirit burst their mosquet. Some of these have 20 rupees a month, some 15, some 10. But there are some gunners that have great pay, especially those of the Franguis, or Christians, as Portugeuze, English, Dutch, Germans, French, that retire thither from Goa, flying from English and Dutch companies. Heretofore when the Moguls did not yet know how to manage artillery, their pay was very great. And there are yet some of that time, who have 200 rupees a month; but now they receive none for more than thirty-two.

Their artillery is of two sorts; the one is the great and heavy artillery; the other the light. As for the former, I remember, that when the king, after his sickness, went with his whole army abroad into the country, diverting himself every day in hunting, sometimes of cranes, sometimes of the gray oxen (a kind of elks), sometimes of gazels, leopards and lions, and making his progress towards Lahore and Kashmir (that little paradise of India), there to pass the summer; the army had seventy pieces of cannon, most of them cut, not counting the two or three hundred camels, carrying each a small field-piece of the bigness of a good double musquet, fastened to those animals. The other light artillery is very brave and well-ordered, consisting of fifty or sixty small field-pieces all of brass, each mounted on a little chariot, very fine and well painted, with a small coffer before and behind for the powder, drawn by two very fair horses, driven by a coachman like a Calache, adorned with a number of small red streamers, each having a third horse led by the chariot for relief.

The great artillery could not follow the king, who often left the highway, and turned sometimes to the right sometimes to the left hand, crossing the fields, to find the true

places for game, and to follow the course of the rivers. That therefore was to keep the highway to go the more easily, and to avoid the embarrassment which it would have met with in the hill passages, especially in those boat-bridges made to pass rivers. The light artillery is inseparable from the person of the king, it marcheth away in the morning when the king comes out of his tent; and whereas he commonly goes a little aside into the places for game, this artillery passeth on straight with all possible speed, to be in time at the rendezvous, and there to appear before the king's tent, which is there made ready the day before, as are also the tent of the great Omras; and this whole artillery giveth a volley just when the king enters into his tent thereby to give notice to the army of his arrival.

The militia of the field is not different from that which is about the king. There are every where Omrahs, Munsebdars, Rousinders, simple horsemen, and foot artillery wherever any war is made. The difference is only in the number, which is much greater in the field-army than in the other. For that army alone, which the Mogul is constrained perpetually to maintain in Deccan, to bridle the potent king of Golconda and to make war upon the king of Vijapour, and upon all the Rajas that join with him, must consist at least of twenty and twenty-five thousand horse—sometimes of thirty.

The kingdom of Kabul, for its ordinary guard against the Persians, Augans, Balouches, and I know that how many mountainers requireth, at least fifteen thousand; the kingdom of Kashmer, more than four thousand; and the kingdom of Bengal much more—not counting those that are employed in the war, which must almost always be maintained on that side; nor those which the governors of the several provinces do need for their defence, according to the particular extent and situation of their governments, which maketh an incredible number.

Not to mention the infantry (which is inconsiderable), I am apt to believe with many others, well informed of those matters, that the number of the horse in actual service about the king's person, comprehending the cavalry of the Rajas and Pathans, amounteth to thirty-five or forty thousand; and that this number, joined to those that are abroad in the field, may make two hundred thousand and better.

I say that the infantry is inconsiderable, for I can hardly believe, that in the army which is about the king, comprising the musqueteers, and all the gunners and their mates, and whatever serves in this artillery, can amount to much more than fifteen thousand, whence you may make a near guess what the number of the foot must be in the field. So that I know not whence to take that prodigious number of foot which some do reckon in the armies of the great Mogul unless it be, that with this true soldiery they confound all the serving men and victullers that follow the army; for in that sense I should easily believe, that they had reason to reckon two or three hundred thousand men, in that army alone which is with the king, and sometimes more, especially when it is certain that he is to be long absent from the capital city, which will not seem so strange to him, that considers the multitude and confusion of tents, kitchens, baggage, women, elephants, camels, oxen, horses, waiting-men, porters, foragers, victullers, merchants of all sorts that must follow the army; nor to him that knows the state and particular government of that country, wherein the king is the sole proprietor of all the lands of the kingdom, whence it necessarily follows, that a whole metropolitan city, such as Delhi and Agra, liveth almost of nothing but of the soldiery, and is consequently obliged to follow the king when he taketh the field; those towns being nothing less than Paris, but indeed no otherwise governed than a camp of armies, a little better and more conveniently lodged than in the open field.

Besides all these things, you may also consider, if you please, that generally all this militia, which I have been representing to you, from the greatest Omrah to the meanest soldier, is indispensably paid every two months, the king's pay being its sole refuge and relief; nor can its pay be deferred there, as it is sometimes with us, where, when there are pressing occasions of the state, a gentleman, an officer, and even a simple cavalier, can stay awhile, and maintain himself of his own stock, rents, and the incomes of his land, But in the Mogul's country, all must be paid at the time prefixed, or all disbands and starves, after they have sold that little they have, as I saw in this last war, that many were going to do, if it had not soon ceased. And this the more because that in all this militia there is almost no soldier that hath not wife and children, servants and slaves, that look for this pay, and have no other hope of relief. And hence it is, that many wonder, considering the huge number of persons living of pay, (which amounts to millions), whence such vast revenues can be had for such excessive charges, although this need not be so much wondered at, considering the riches of the empire, the peculiar government of the state and the said universal property of the sovereign.

You may add to this, that the Grand Mogul keeps nigh him at<sup>3</sup> Delhi and Agra, and thereabout, two or three thousand brave horses to be always ready upon occasion; as also eight or nine hundred elephants, and a vast number of mules, horses and porters, to carry all the great tents and their cabinets, to carry his wives, kitchens, household-staff, Ganges-water, and all the other necessities for the field, which he hath always about him as if he were at home; things not absolutely necessary in our kingdoms.

To this may be added those incredible expenses upon the Seraglio, more indispensable than will be easily believed; that vast store of fine linen, cloth of gold, embroideries, silks, musks, ambar, pearls, sweet essences etc., consumed there.

All these charges being put together, and compared with the revenues of the Mogul may be thought to have, it will be easy to judge, whether he be indeed so very rich, as he is made to be. As for me, I very well know, that it cannot be denied, that he hath very great revenues : I believe he hath more alone than the Grand Seignior and the King of Persia both together : but then to believe all those extravagant stories made to the vastness of his revenues, is a thing I could never do : and if I should believe the best part of them, yet should I not believe him in effect and truly so rich as the world rings of him ; unless a man would say, that a treasurer, who receiveth great sums of money from one hand at the same time when he is obliged to disburse them to another, were therefore truly rich. For my part I should count that king rich indeed, who, without oppressing and impoverishing his people too much, should have a revenue sufficient to keep a great and gallant court (after the manner of that of ours, or otherwise) and a militia sufficient both to guard his kingdom, and to make an important war for diverse years against his neighbours ; as also to show liberality, to build some royal edifices, and to make those other expences which kings are wont to make according to their particular inclinations ; and who, besides all this, should be able to put up in his treasury, for a reverse, sums big enough to undertake, and maintain a good war for some years. Now I am apt enough to believe, that the Great Mogul enjoyeth very near these advantages, but I cannot persuade myself, that he hath them in that excess as is thought and pretended. Those vast and inevitable expences that I have taken notice of, will certainly incline you to my opinion, without any other consideration ; but you will doubtless be altogether of my mind when I shall have represented to you these two things, which I am very well informed of.

That one is, that the great Mogul, now reigning, about the end of this last revolution, though the kingdom was



every where in peace (except in Bengal, where Sultan Sujah yet held out), was much perplexed where to find means for the subsistence of his armies, though they were not so well paid as at other times, and the war lasted no longer than five years or thereabout, and though also he had held hold of a good part of the treasury of his father Shah-Jehah.

The other is, that all this treasure of Shah-Jehan, who was very frugal, and had reigned about forty years without considerable wars, never amounted to six Krores of rupees. A rupee is about twenty nine pence. An hundred thousand of them make a Lakh, and an hundred Laks make one Krore.\* It is true I do not comprehend in this great treasure that great abundance of goldsmith's works so variously wrought in gold and silver; nor that vast store of precious stones and pearls of a very high value. I doubt, whether there be any king in the world that hath more. The throne alone, covered with them, is valued at least three Krores, if I remember aright; but then it is to be considered also, that they are the spoils of those ancient princes, the Pathans and Rajas, gathered and piled up from immemorial times and still increasing from one king to another, by the presents which the Omrahs are obliged yearly at certain festival days to make him; and which are esteemed to be the jewels of the crown, which it would be criminal to touch, and upon which a King of Mogul, in case of necessity, would find it very hard to procure the least sum.

But before I conclude, I shall take notice, whence it may proceed, that though this empire of Mogul be thus an abyss of gold and silver, as hath been said, yet notwithstanding there appears no more of it amongst the people than elsewhere; yea, rather that the people is there less monied than in other places.

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\* So that the six Krores would make about seven millions and an half English money.

The first reason is, that much of it is consumed in melting over and over all 'those nose and ear-rings, chains, finger-rings, bracelets of hands and feet, which the women wear but chiefly in the incredible quantity of manufactures, wherein so much is spent which is soft, as in all those embroideries, silk stuffs, interwoven with gold and silver, cloth, scarfs, turbans, etc., of the same; for generally all that militia loveth to be gilded from the Omrahs to the meanest soldiers with their wives and children, though they should starve at home.

The second, that all the lands of the kingdom being the King's property, they are given either as benefices, which they call Jah-ghirs, or, as in Turkey, Timars, to men of the militia for their pay or pension (as the word Jah-ghir imports): or else they are given to the governors for their pension, and the entertainment of their troops, on condition that the surplus of those land-revenues they give yearly a certain sum to the king, as sarmets, or, lastly, the King reserveth them for himself as a particular domain of his horse which never, or very seldom, are given as Jah-ghirs, and upon which he keeps farmers, who also must give him a yearly sum; which is to say, that the Timariots, governors and farmers, have an absolute authority over the countrymen, and even a very great one over the tradesmen and merchants of the towns, boroughs, and villages depending from them; so that in those parts there are neither great lords nor parliaments, nor presidial courts, as amongst us, to keep these people in awe; nor Kadis or Judges powerful enough to hinder and repress their violence: nor in a word, any person to whom a countryman, tradesman, or merchant can make his complaints to, in cases of extortoin and tyranny often practised upon them by the soldiery and governors; who every where do impunely abuse the authority royal, which they have in hand, unless it be perhaps a little in those places that are near to capital cities, as Delhi and Agra,

and in great towns, and considerable sea-ports of the provinces, whence they know that the complaints can be more easily conveyed to the court. Whence it is that all and every one stand in continual fear of those people, especially of the governors, more than any slave doth of his master that ordinarily they affect to appear poor and moneyless, very mean in their apparel, lodging, household-stuff, and yet more in meat and drink; that often they apprehend even to meddle with trade, lest they should be thought rich, and so fall into the danger of being ruined: so that at last they find no other remedy to secure their wealth, than to dig and hide their money deep under ground, thus getting out of the ordinary commerce of men, and so dying, neither the King nor the state having any benefit by it: which is a thing not only happens among the peasants and artizens, but (which is far more considerable) amongst all sorts of merchants, whether Mahomedans or Heathens, except some that are in the King's or some Omrah's pay, or that have some particular patron and support in power: but principally among the heathen, which are almost the only masters of the trade and money, insatuated with the belief that the gold and silver which they hide in their life-time shall serve them after death. And this in my opinion, is the true reason, why there appears so little money in trade among the people.

But thence ariseth a question very considerable, viz., Whether it were not more expedient, not only for the subjects, but for the state itself, and for the sovereign, not to have the prince such a proprietor of the lands of the kingdom, as to take away the Meum and Tuum amongst private persons, as it is with us? For my part, after a strict comparing the state of our kingdoms, where that Meum and Tuum holds, with that of those other kingdoms where it is not, I am thoroughly persuaded, that it is much better and more beneficial for the sovereign himself, to have it so as it is in our parts. Because that in those parts where it is

otherwise, the gold and silver is lost, as I was just now observing : there is almost no person secure from the violence of those timariots, governors and farmers ; the kings how wellsoever they be disposed toward their people, are never almost in a condition (as I lately noted) to get justice administered to them, and to hinder tyrannies ; especially in those great dominions, and in the provinces remote from the capital towns ; which yet ought to be, as doubtless it is, one of the chief employments and considerations of a King. Besides, [this tyranny often grows to that excess, that it takes away what is necessary to the life of a peasant or tradesman who is starved for hunger and misery ; who gets no childaen, or if he does, sees them die young for want of food ; or that abandons his land, and turns some cavalier's man, or flies whither he may to his neighbours, in hopes of finding a better condition. In a word, the land is not tilled but almost by force, and consequently very ill, and much of it is quite spoiled and ruined, there being none to be found that can or will be at the charge of entertaining the ditches and channels for the course of waters to be conveyed to necessary places : nor any body that care to build houses, or to repair those that are ruinous ; the peasant reasoning thus with himself—Why should I toil so much for a tyrant that may come to-morrow to take all away from me, or at least all the best of what I have, and not leave, if the fancy taketh him, so much as to sustain my life even very poorly ? And the Timariot, the governor and the farmer, will reason thus with himself—Why should I bestow money and take pains of bettering or maintaining this land, since I must every hour expect to have it taken from me, or exchanged for another ? I labour neither for myself nor for my children ; and that place which I have this year, I may perhaps have no more the next. Let us draw from it what we can, whilst we possess it, though the peasant should break or starve, though the land should become a desert, when I am gone !

And for this very reason it is, that we see those vast estates in Asia go so wretchedly and palpably to ruin. Thence it is, that throughout those parts we see almost no other towns that made up of earth and dirt; nothing but ruined and deserted towns and villages, or such as are going to ruin. Even thence it is that we see (for example those Mesopotamia's, Anatolia's, Palestina's, those admirable plains of Antioch, and so many other lands, anciently so well tilled, so fertile, and so well peopled, at the present half deserted, untilled and abandoned, or become pestilent and uninhabitable, bogs. Thence it is also, that of those incomparable lands of Egypt it is observed, that within less than four-score years more than the tenth part of it is lost, no people being to be found, that will expend what is necessary to maintain all the channels, and to restrain the river Nile from violently overflowing on the bank, and so drowning too much the low lands, or from covering them with sand, which cannot be removed from thence but with great pains and charges. From the same root it comes, that arts are languishing in those countries, or at least flourish much less than else they would do, or do with us. For what heart and spirit can an artizan have to study well, and to apply his mind to his work, when he sees, that among the people which is for the most part beggarly, or will appear so, there is none that considers the goodness and neatness of his work, every body looking for what is cheap? And that the grandees pay them but very ill, and when they please? The poor tradesman often thinking himself happy that he can get clear of them without the Korrah, which is that terrible whip, that hangs nigh the gate of the Omrahs: further when he seeth that there is no help at all ever to come to any thing, as to buy an office, or some land for himself and children, and that even he dares not appear to have a penny in cash, or to wear good clothes, or to eat a good meal, for fear he should be thought rich, and indeed the

beauty and exactness of arts had been quite lost in those parts long ago, if it were not that the kings and grantees there did give wages to certain workmen, that work in their houses, and there teach their children, and endeavour to make themselves able in order to be a little more considered and to escape the Korrah; and if also it were not, that those great and rich merchants of towns, who are protected by good and powerful patrons, payed those workmen a little better: I say, a little better; for, what fine stuffs soever we see come from those countries, we must not imagine, the workman is there in any honour, or comes to any thing; it is nothing but mere necessity or the cudgel, that makes him work, he never grows rich; it is no small matter when he hath wherewith to live and to cloathe himself narrowly. If there be any money to gain of the work, that is not for him, but for those great merchants of towns I was just now speaking of: and even these themselves find it often difficult enough to maintain themselves, and to prevent extortion.

'Tis from the same cause also, that a gross and profound ignorance reigns in those states. For how is it possible there should be academies and colleges well founded, where are such founders to be met with? And if there were any, whence were the scholars to be had? Where are those that have means sufficient to maintain their children in colleges; and if there were, who would appear to be so rich? And if they would, where are those benefices, preferments and dignities that require knowledge and abilities, and that may animate young men to study.

Thence it is likewise, that traffic languishes in all that country, in comparison of ours. For how many are there that care to take pains, to run up and down, to write much, and to run danger for another, for a governor, that shall extort, if he be not in league with some considerable

sword-man, whose slave he in a manner is, and that makes his own conditions with him.

It is not there, that the kings find for their service princes, lords, gentlemen, sons of rich and good families, officers, citizens, merchants, and even tradesmen, well born, well educated, and well instructed; men of courage that have a true affection and respect for their king, that often live a great while at court and in the army of their own expences, entertaining themselves with good hopes and content with the favourable aspect of the prince; and who upon occasion fight manfully covetous to uphold the honour of their ancestors and families. Those kings, I say never see about them but men of nothing, slaves, ignorants, brutes, and such courtizans as are raised from the dust of dignities, and that for want of good education and instruction almost always retain somewhat of their offspring, of the temper of beggars, enriched, proud, unsufferable, heartless, insensible of honour, disingenuous, and void of affection and regard for the honour of their king and country. Here it is, where those kings must ruin all to find means to defray all those prodigious charges, which they cannot avoid for entertaining their great court, which hath no other forces to subsist but their coffers and treasure, and for maintaining constantly the vast number of soldiers, necessary for them to keep the people in subjection, to prevent their running away, to make them work, and to get what is exacted from them, they being so many desperadoes, for being perpetually under hatches, and for labouring only for others.

Thence it is also, that in an important war that may happen (which may be almost at all times) they must almost of necessity sell the government for ready money and immense sums; whence chiefly that ruin and desolation comes to pass which we see. For the governor, which is the buyer, must not be reimbursed of all those great sums of

money which he hath taken up, perhaps the third or fourth part, at high interest? Must not a governor also, whether he have bought the government or not, find means, as well as a timariot and a farmer, to make every year great presents to a visir, an eunuch, a lady of the seraglio, and to those other persons that support him at court? Must he not pay to the King his usual tributes, and withal enrich himself, that wretched slave half famished, and deeply indebted when he first appeared, without good lands and revenues of house; such as they all are? Do not they ruin all, and lay all waste; I mean, those that in the provinces are like so many tyrants with a boundless and unmeasured authority, there being nobody there, as hath been already said, that can restrain them, or to whom a subject can have refuge to save himself from their tyranny, and to obtain justice?

'Tis true, that in the empire of the Mogul the *Vakeanavis*, that is those persons whom he sends into the provinces to write to him whatsoever passeth there, do a little keep the officers in awe, provided they do not collude together (as it almost always happens) to devour all; as also that the governments are not there so often sold, nor so openly as in Turkey; I say, not so openly (for those great presents, they are from time to time obliged to make, are almost equivalent to sales) and that the governors ordinarily remain longer in their governments; which maketh them not so hungry, so beggarly, and so deep in debt, as those new comers, and that consequently they do not always tyrannize over the people with so much cruelty; even apprehending, lest they should run away to the *Rajas*; which yet falls out very often.

'Tis also true, that in Persia the governments are not so frequently nor so publicly sold as in Turkey; the sons of the governors also succeeding often enough to their fathers; which is also the cause that the people there is often not so



ill treated as in Turkey, and occasions withal, but there is more politeness, and that even some there are that addict themselves to study. But all that is really but a slight matter; those three states of Turkey, Persia and Hindustan, forasmuch as they have all three taken away the *Mcum* and *Tuum* as to land and propriety of possessions (which is the foundation of whatever is good and regular in the world) can not but very near resemble one another: they have the same defect, they must at last, sooner or later needs fall into the same inconveniences, which are the necessary consequences of it, viz. tyranny, ruin, and desolation.

Far be it therefore, that our monarchs of Europe should thus be proprietors of all the lands which their subjects possess. Their kingdoms would be very far from being so well cultivated and peopled, so well built, so rich, so polite and flourishing as we see them. Our kings are otherwise rich and powerful: and we must avow that we are much better and more royally served. There would be kings of deserts and solitudes, of beggars and barbarians, such as those are whom I have been representing; who, because they will have all, at last lose all; and who because they will make themselves too rich, at length find themselves without riches, or at least, very far from that which they covet after, out of their blind ambition and passion of being more absolute than the laws of God and nature do permit. For where would be those princes, those prelates, those nobles, those rich citizens and great merchants, and those famous artizens, those towns of Paris, Lyons, Toulouse, Rouen, London, and so many others? Where would be that infinite number of boroughs and villages, all those fair country-houses, and fields, and hillocks tilled and maintained with so much industry, care and labour? And where would consequently be all those vast revenues drawn thence, which at last enrich the subjects and the sovereign both? We

should find the great cities, and the great boroughs rendered inhabitable because of the ill air, and to fall to ruin without any body's taking care of repairing them; the hillocks abandoned, and the fields overspread with the bushes, or filled with pestilential marshes, as hath been already intimated.

A word to our dear and experienced travellers: they would not find those fair conveniencies of travelling; they would be obliged to carry all things with them, like the Bohemians; and all those good inns, for example, that are found between Paris and Lyons, would be like ten or twelve wretched Caravens-ferrahs, that is, great barns, raised and paved, such as our Pont-neu is, where hundreds of men are found pel-mel, together with their horses, mules and camels, where one is stifled with heat in summer, and starved with cold in winter, if it were not for the breathing of these animals, that warm the place a little.

But it will be said, we see some estates, where the *Meum* and *Tuum* is not (as for example, that of the Grand Seigneur, which we know better than any, without going so far as the Indies) that do not only subsist, but are also very powerful, and increase daily.

'Tis true that, that state of the Grand Seigneur of such a prodigious extent as it is, having so vast a quantity of lands, the soil of which is so excellent, that it cannot be destroyed but very difficultly, and in a long time, is yet rich and populous; but it is certain also, that if it were cultivated and peopled proportionably to ours, (which it would be, if there were property among the subjects throughout) it would be quite a different thing; it would have people enough to raise such prodigious armies as in old times, and rich enough to maintain them. We have travelled through almost all the parts of it; we have seen how strangely it is ruined and unpeopled; and how in the capital city there now needs three whole months to raise five or six thousand men. We

know also, what it would have come to ere this, if it had not been for the great number of Christian slaves that are brought into it from all parts. And no doubt but that, if the same government were continued there for a number of years, that state would destroy itself, and at last fall by its own weakness, as it seems that already it is hardly maintained but only by that means, I mean, by the frequent change of governors; there being not one governor, nor any one man in the whole empire, that hath a penny to enable him to maintain the least thing, or that can almost find any men, if he had money. A strange manner to make states to subsist! There would need no more for making an end of the seditions, than a Brahma of Pegu, who killed the half of the kingdom with hunger, and turned into forests, hindering for some years the lands from being tilled though yet he hath not succeeded in his design, and the state have afterwards been divided, and that even lately Ava, the capital town, was upon the point of being taken by an handful of China fugitives. Mean time we must confess, that we are not like to see in our days that total ruin and destruction of this empire we are speaking of (if so be we see not something worse), because it has neighbours, that are so far from being able to undertake anything against him, that they are not so much as in a condition to resist him, unless it be by those succours of strangers, which the remoteness and jealousy would make slow, small, and suspect.

But it might yet be further objected, that it appears not why such states as these might not have good laws, and why the people in the provinces might not be enabled to come and make their complaints to the Grand Visir, or to the King himself. 'Tis true, that they are not altogether destitute of good laws, and that if those which are amongst them were observed, there would be as good living there, as in any part of the world. But what are those laws good for, if they be not observed, and if there be no means to

make them to be executed? Is it not the Grand Visir, or the King that appoint for the people such beggarly tyrants and that hath no others to set over them? It is not he that fells those governments? Hath a poor peasant or tradesman means to make great journeys, and to come and seek for justice in the capital city, remote perhaps one hundred and fifty or two hundred leagues from the place of his abode? Will not the governor cause him to be made away in his journey (as it hath often happened) or caschier him sooner or later? And will he not provide his friends at court, to support him there, and to represent things quite otherwise than they are? In a word this governor, hungry, hungry as well as the Timariots, and farmers (that are all men for drawing oil out of sand, as the Persian speaks, and for ruining a world. with their heap of women-harpies, children and slaves), this governor, I say, is he not the absolute master, the superintendent of justice, the parliament, the receiver, and all?

It may perhaps be added, that the lands, which our kings hold in Domains, are no less well tilled and peopled, than other land. But there is a great difference between the having in property some lands here and there in a great kingdom, (which changes not the constitution of the state and government,) and the having them all in property, which would altar it altogether. And when we in these parts have laws so rational, which our kings are willing to be the first to observe, and according to which they will that their particular lands shall be governed as those of their subjects are so as to give way, that actions of law may be laid against their own farmers and officers, so that a peasant or tradesman may have means to obtain justice, and to find remedy against the unjust violence of those that would oppress him: whereas in those parts of Asia I see almost not any refuge for those poor people; the cudgel and the hammer of the

governor being in a manner the only law that rules, and decides all controversies there.

Lastly it may be said, that 'tis at least certain, that in such states there is not such a multitude of long-lasting suits of law, as in these parts, or so many lawyears of all sorts, as amongst us. It is in my opinion, very true that one cannot too much applaud that old Persian saying, *Na-bac Kouta Beter-Ex bac Deaaz*. that is, "Short injustice is better than long justice;" and that the length of the law-suits is insufferable in a state, and that it is the indispensable duty of the sovereign by all good means to endeavour a remedy against them. And 'tis certain, that by taking away this *Meum* and *Tuum*, the root would be cut off an infinite number of law-processes, and especially of almost all those that are of importance, and long and perplexed; and consequently there would not need so great a number of magistrates, which our sovereigns do employ to administer justice to their subjects, nor that swarm of men, which subsist only by that way. But 'tis also manifest, that the remedy would be an hundred time worse than the disease, considering those great inconveniencies that would follow thereupon, and that in all probability the magistrates would become such as those of the Asiatic states, who deserve not that name; for in a word, our kings have yet cause to glory upon the account of good magistracy under them. In those parts, some merchants excepted, justice is only amongst the meanest sort of people, that are mean and of an unequal condition, who have not the means of corrupting the judges, and to buy false witnesses that are there in great numbers, and very cheap, and never punished. And this I have learned every where by the experience of many years, and by my [solicitous enquiries made among the people of the country, and our old merchants that are in those parts, as also of ambassadors, consuls and interpreters; whatever our common travellers may say, who upon their having seen by chance

When they passed by, two or three porters or others of the like gang, about a Kady, quickly despatched one or other of the parties, and sometimes both, with some lashes under the sole of their feet, or with a *Maybale Baba*. sowe mild words, when there is no wool to sheer; who, I say, upon sight of this, come hither, and cry out, Oh the good and short justice! Oh what honest judges are those in respect of ours! Not considering in the mean time, that if any one of those wretches that is in the wrong, had a couple of crowns to corrupt the Kady, or his clerks, and as much to buy two false witnesses, he might either win his process, or prolong it as long as he pleased.

In conclusion to be short, I say, that the taking away this property of lands among private men, would be infallibly to introduce at the same time tyranny, slavery, injustice, beggary, barbarism, desolation, and to open a highway for the ruin and destruction of mankind, and even of kings and estates: and that on the contrary, this *Meum* and *Tuum*, accompanied with the hopes that every one shall keep what he works and labours for, for himself and his children, as his own, is the main foundation of whatever is regular and good in the world: in so much that whosoever shall cast his eyes upon the different countries and kingdoms, and taketh good notice what follows upon this property of sovereigns, or that of the people, will soon find the true forces and chief cause of that great differences we see in the several states and empires of the world, and avow, that this is in a manner that which changes and diversifieth the face of the whole earth.

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*A letter to Mr. de la Mothe le Vayer, written at Delhi, July 1, 1663. containing the description of Delhi and Agra, and divers Particulars, discovering the Court and Genius of the Moguls and Indians.*

SIR,

I know [that one of the first questions you are like to ask me, at my return in France, will be, whether Delhi and Agra are cities as fair and large, and as well peopled as Paris. Concerning its beauty, I shall tell you by way of preface, that I have sometimes wondered to hear our Europeans that are here, despising the towns of the Indies, as are not coming near ours, in respect of the edifices. Certainly they ought not to resemble them; and if Paris, London, and Amsterdam stood in the place where Delhi is, the gaeatest part of them must be thrown down, to build them after another manner. Our cities indeed have great beauties and embellishments, but they are such that are proper to them, and accommodated to a cold climate. Delhi also may have its beauties peculiar to it, and suitable to a very hot climate: for you are to know, that the heat here obligeth all people, even the great lords and the King himself, to go without stockings, in a kind of slippers only, a fine and slight turban on their heads, and the other garments accordingly; that there are months in the summer so excessively hot, that in the chambers one can hardly hold one's hands against a wall, nor one's head on a cushion; and that the people are obliged, for the space of more than six months, to lie without covering, at the door of their chamber, as the rabble doth in the open streets, or as the merchants and other people of some quality do, in some airy hall or garden, or upon some terras well-watered at night: thence you may judge, whether if there were such streets as that of St. Jacques, or St. Denis, with their houses shut, and of so many stories high, they would be habitable?

And whether in the night, especially when the heats are without wind and stuffing, it would be possible to sleep there? And who is there (I pray) that would have a mind in summer, when he returns on horseback from the city half-dead, and in a manner stifled of the heat and dust, and all in a sweat (for so it is), to go climbing up an high pair of stairs, which often is narrow and dark, to a fourth or fifth story, and to abide in this hot and suffocating air? On such occasions they desire nothing, but to throw down into the stomach a pint of fresh water, or lemonade, to undress, to wash the face, hands, and feet, to lie down in some cool and shady place all along, having a servant or two to fan one by turns with their great pankhas or fans. But to leave this, we shall now endeavour to entertain you with the representation of Delhi as it is, that so you may judge whether it be truly said, that it is a fair city.

It is now about forty years that Chah-Jehan, father of the Grand Mogul Aurengezebe now reigning, to eternize his memory, caused to be built a town contiguous to old Delhi, which he called after his name Chah-Jehan-Abad, and by way of abbreviation, Jehan Abad; that is to say, a colony of Chah-Jehan, designing to make it the capital of the empire, instead of Agra, where he said that the summer heats were too violent. This nearness hath occasioned, that the ruins of old Delhi have served to build a new city; and in the Indies they scarce speak any more of Delhi, but only of Jehan-Abad. Yet notwithstanding, since the city of Jehan-Abad is not yet known amongst us, I intend to speak of it under the old name of Delhi, which is familiar to us.

Delhi then is a town altogether a new, seated in a plain campaign, upon a river like Loire, called Gemna, and built along one side of the river only; there being but one boat-bridge to pass over into the plain. This town is surrounded



with walls, except the river-side ; these walls are of bricks, and without a considerable defence, they being without a ditch, and having nothing to flank them but round towers after the old way, distant from each other and hundred common paces, and a rampart behind them four or five feet thick. The compass of these walls, comprising the fortress, is not so big as is commonly believed : I have gone it round with ease in three hours ; and I believe not, though I was on horseback, that I despatched more than one league in an hour ; 'tis true, that if you will take into the town a very long suburb, which goeth towards Lahore, as also what remains inhabited of old Delhi, which is likewise a great and very long suburb, and besides, three or four small suburbs more, all that would make in : direct line above a league and a half, and such a compass which I cannot well determine, because that between the suburbs are great gardens, and large spaces not built ; but I may say, that thus taken it would be of a prodigious bigness.

The fortress, in which is the *mehalle*, or *seraglio*, and the other royal apartments, which I shall hereafter speak of, is built round upon the river ; yet there is between the water and the walls a pretty large and long sandy space, where commonly elephants are exercised, and where frequently the militia of the *Omrahs* and *Rajahs* is mustered in the King's presence, who looks out of the windows of one of his apartments. The walls of the fortress, as to their round antique towers, are very near like those of the town ; but they are partly of bricks, and partly of a certain red stone resembling *marble*, which maketh them look fairer than those of the town ; besides that, they are much higher, stronger, and thicker, being able to bear some field-pieces that are there planted towards the town ; and encompassed also, excepting that side which respects the river, with a fair ditch, walled up with free-stone, full of water fish. But yet they are so inconsiderable for strength, that

a battery of some middle sized cannon would, in my opinion, soon cast them down.

Round about the ditch there is a pretty large garden, at all times full of flowers and green apricots, which together with those great walls all red, maketh a very fine sight.

About this garden is the great street, or rather the great place royal, to which the two great and principal gates of the fortress do answer, and to these gates the two chief streets of the town.

In this great place it is, where the tents of the Rajas are that are in the King's pay, to keep there, every one in his turn, there weekly guard; whereas the Omrahs and Mansebdadars or small Omrahs, keep it within the fortress. These little sovereigns are not pleased to see themselves thus and so long shut up in a fort.

In this very place it is where, at the break of day, are exercised the horses of a long royal stable near it. And here it is also that the Kobat-kan, or great commissioner of the cavalry, carefully vieweth the horses of those cavaliers that have been received into service, to the end that if these horses are of Turkistan or Tartary, and large and strong enough for service, the King's mark, and that of the Omrahs under whom such cavaliers are to be lifted, may be branded upon them: a thing not ill devised, to prevent the mutual loan of horses in the masters.

This same place is also a kind of Bazar, or market, of an hundred things sold there, and a rendezvous of player and jugglers of all sorts, as the Pont-neuf at Paris. It is no less the meeting-place of the poor astrologers, as well Mahometan as heathen. These doctors (forsooth) sit there in the sun upon a piece of tapestry, all covered with dust, having about them some old mathematical instruments, which they make shew of to draw passengers, and a great open book representing the animals of the Zodiack. These men are the oracles, but rather the affronters of the vulgar,

to whom they pretend to give for one payssa, that is, a penny, good luck; and they are they, that looking upon the hands and the face, turning over their books, and making a shew of calculation, determine the fortunate moment when a business is to be begun to make it successful. The mean women, wrapt up in a white sheet from head to foot, come to find them out, telling them in their ear their most secret concerns, as if they were their confessors, and (which smells very strongly of stupidity and folly) entreat them to render the stars propitious to them and suitable to their designs; as if they could absolutely dispose of their influences.

The most ridiculous of all these astrologers, in my opinion, was that mongrel Portuguese, fugitive from Goa, who sat in that place with much gravity upon his piece of tapestry, like the rest, and had a great deal of custom, though he could neither write nor read; and as for instruments and books, was furnished with nothing else but an old sea-compass, and an old Romish prayer-book in the Portuguese language, of which he shewed the pictures for figures of the Zodiack: *A tal bestias, tal astrologue*: "For such beasts, such astrologer;" said he to the Reverend Father Buze, a Jesuit, who met him in that place.

I here speak only of the pitiful astrologers of the Bazar; for there are others in these parts, that are in the courts of the grandees, and are considered as great clerks, and are very rich; whole Asia being overspread with this superstition. The kings and the great lords, who would not undertake the least things without consulting them, allow them great salaries, that they may read to them what is written in the heaven (for so they speak here), and take out for them that fortunate moment I was lately speaking of; or find out, at the opening of the Alcoran, the decision of all their doubts.

To return; these two principal streets, which I said do

answer to the two gates of the fortress, and to the place, may have twenty-five or thirty common paces in breadth, and they run in a strait line as far as you are able to see yet that which leads to the gate of Lahore, is much longer than the other; but they are both alike as to the houses. There is on both sides nothing but arches, as in our *Place Royal*; yet with this difference, that they are but of bricks, and that there is not any building upon them, but only the terras. There is also this difference, that they are not contained galleries. These arches are generally severed by rails that make shops which are not to be shut, where tradesmen work in the day, where bankers sit for their business, and where merchants set out their wares, which at night they lock up in a magazine, the little door of which, to be shut, is in the bottom of every arch.

It is upon this magazine, which is in the back part of the arches, that the houses of merchants are built and raised which make a show good enough towards the street, and are also pretty convenient, being well-aired, out of the way of the dust, and having for their floor the terrasses of the arches, upon which they can walk to look out upon the street, and to sleep at night *in fresco*. But excepting these houses of the chief streets, and a few others, there are not many of these fair houses that are thus raised upon terrasses, nor are even these two streets universally furnished with them, there being mostly upon the magazine, or on the side, nothing but a small building, not seen from the street, the great merchants having their houses somewhere else, whither they retire at night.

Besides these two principal streets, there are yet five others, which indeed are not so long nor so straight, but for the rest are altogether like them. There are also a great many other streets crossing those of all sides, thereof there are also some furnished with arches; but because they have been built piece-meal by such particular persons, as have

not observed the symmetry that was requisite; they are, for the most part, neither so large, nor so straight, nor so well built as the others.

Amongst all these streets are spread every where the houses of the Munsebdars, or little Omrahs, and those of the men of the law, as also of many great merchants, and other private men; of which there is a good number that are passable. It is true, there are but few that are all of brick or stone, and there is even a good number of these, that are made all of earth only and thatched; but for all that, they are convenient, because they are generally airy, being furnished with courts and gardens. Nor are they disagreeable within, for as much as besides the fine moveables, these thatched coverings are supported by a layer of certain long canes, that are hard and strong, and very pretty, and because also these earthen walls are plaistered over with very fine and very white chalk.

Amongst these houses I have been speaking of that are tolerable, there is also a prodigious number of other small ones, that are only made up of earth and straw, where all the simple cavaliers, and their servants, and all these little people of the market, that follow the court and the army, are lodged.

It is from these thatched houses that Dehli is so subject to fires. This last year there were burnt above sixty thousand such, at two or three times that they took fire, when there blew certain impetuous winds, that rise chiefly in summer. The fire was so quick and so violent, that it surprised the houses, and many houses also that could not be time enough loosened; and there were even some of these poor women burnt, that never had been out of the seraglio, and that are so weak and shame-faced when they see people, that they know nothing else but to hide their faces.

And it is upon the account of these pitiful houses of earth and straw, that I look upon Dehli almost no otherwise than as many villages joined together, and which I have already said in another place as a camp of an army, a little better and more comodiously placed than in the field.

As to the houses of the Omrahs, that are also up and down in this city, and principally upon the river, and even in the suburbs. You are to know that in these hot countries to entitle an house to the name of good and fair, it is required it should be commodious, seated in a place well-aired, and capable to receive the wind from all sides, and principally from the north; having courts, gardens, trees, conservatories, and little jets of a waters in the halls, or at least at the entry; furnished also with good cellars, with flaps to stir the air, for reposing in the fresh air from twelve till four or five of the clock, when the air of these cellars begins to be hot and stifling; or having in lieu of cellarage certain kas-kasays, that is, little houses of straw, or rather of odoriferous roots, that are very nearly made, and commonly placed in the midst of a parterre near some conservatory, that so the servants may easily, with their pompion bottles, water them from without. Moreover it is required for the beauty of an house, that it be seated in the midst of some great parterre that it have four great divans or ways raised from the ground to the height of a man, or thereabout, and exposed to the four parts of the world, to receive the wind and the cold from all the parts it may come from. Lastly, it is requisite for a good house to have raised terrasses, to sleep upon in the night, such as are of the same floor with some great chamber, to draw in one's bed-stead upon occasion; that is to say, when there comes some tempest of rain or dust, or when that rousing freshness of the break of day awakens you, and obliges you to look for a covering; or else when you apprehend that small and light dew of the morning, which pierceth, and causeth

sometimes benumbing and paralytical symptoms in the limbs.

• As to the interior part of an house, it is requisite that the whole floor be covered with a mattress of cotton four inches thick, covered with a white fine linen sheet during summer, and with a piece of silk tapestry in winter; that in the most conspicuous part of the chamber, near the wall, there be one or two cotton quilts, with fine flowered coverings, and set about with small and fine embroidery of silk, wrought with gold and silver, for the master of the house, or persons of quality coming in, to sit upon; and that every quilt have its cross-board, purfled with gold, to lean upon; that round about the chamber, along the walls, there be several of these cross-boards, as I just now mentioned, handsomely covered with velvet or flowered satin, for by-standers also to lean upon. The walls five or six foot from the floor, must be almost all with niches, or little windows, cut in an hundred different manners, or shapes, very fine, well measured and proportioned to one another, with some porcelain vessels and flower-pots in them; and the ground must be painted and gilded, yet without any figure of man or beast, their religion not allowing thereof.

This is as near as I know, the idea of a handsome and convenient house in these parts; and as there is a good number of them in Dehli, that have all these qualities mentioned, or at least in part, according to which they are more or less fair and gallant, I believe one may say, without any injury to our towns, that Dehli is not without houses that are truly handsome although they be not like ours in Europe.

Concerning the appearance and riches of the shops (which is the thing that contributeth most to the beauty of our towns in Europe) although Dehli be the seat of a very potent and magnificent court and consequently the resort of infinite quantities and varieties of rich wares; yet we are,

not to imagine, that you shall find there our streets of St. Denis ; I know not whether there be any such in all Asia. And even as to the most fine and the most rich stuffs, they are commonly but in the magazines, their shops are not furnished with them : so that for one shop that maketh any show, that is, where there are sold those fine sorts of linen, those stuffs of silk streaked with gold and silver, cloth of gold, turbans embroidered with gold, and other commodities of great price, you shall always find five-and-twenty and more, that are filled with nothing but pots of oil and butter, and panniers one upon another full of rice, barley, pease, corn, and many other sorts of grain and legume ; which are the ordinary food, not only of all the Gentiles, that never eat any meat, but also of the meaner sort of the Mahomedans, and of a good part of those of the soldiery.

It is true that there is a fruit-market that maketh some shew. One may there see in summer abundance of shops full of dry fruit, that come out of Persia, Balk, Bokara, and Samarkand, as almonds, pistaches, small nuts, raisins, prunes, apricorns, and the like. And in winter there are found excellent raisins, fresh, black and white, brought from the same countries, well wrapt up in cotton ; also apples and pear of three or four sorts, and of these admirable melons that last all winter. But all this fruit is very dear ; I have seen melons sold even for a crown and an half a piece. And they are indeed the great delicacy and expence of the Omrahs. I have often seen in the house of my Aga, that there was eaten in melons in one morning for more than twenty crowns. There are none but the melons of the country that are cheap in summer, but those are not so good. The grandees only, that send for seed out of Persia, and to get the ground well fitted for them, may eat good ones ; yet that but rarely, neither, the ground being not so proper but that the seed degenerateth the very first year

It is true, there is yet another fruit called amba,



mangue, which in its season, during two summer months, is found in great plenty and very cheap ; but those of Delhi ; are none of the best, being very loose, and flashy : those of Bengala, Golkonda, and Goa are admirable. It hath a certain sweetness so peculiar, that I doubt whether there be any comfit in the world so pleasant. There are also patesques, or water-melons in abundance, and almost all the year long ; but they also do not thrive well at Delhi ; they never have their meat so ruddy, firm and sugary ; and if there be any good, they are not to be found but amongst the great ones, who take the pains of making them grow as melons, with extraordinary care and cost.

There are also up and down in Delhi shops of comfit-makers ; but all their comfits are very ill done, being full of dust and flies.

There are besides many shops of bread every where, but because they have no ovens like ours, it is never well-baked ; yet in the fortress there is sold some that is reasonably good ; and the Omrahs cause such to be made in their houses that is very delicate, sparing no new butter, milk, nor eggs : yet though they leaven it, it is always much inferior in goodness to our bread of Gonesse, and to those other forts of excellent bread of Paris, it favouring always of the cake simnel.

In these bazars there are also some tents, where they trade in roast meat, and in dressing I know not how many forts of dishes ; but all that is but beggarly, nasty and ill meat. I fear you sometimes meet with the flesh of camels, horses, or oxen dead of sickness : I do not much trust them ; so that if you will eat anything worth eating, you must have it dressed at home.

There are also many shops every where, where they sell flesh ; but you may take heed lest they give you mutton for kid ; the mutton and beef, but especially the mutton, though well enough tasted, being here very hot, windy, and

of ill digestion. The best meat here is young kid, but it is very rarely sold in the market by quarters; so that if you have a mind to eat any, you must buy a whole and a live one; which is inconvenient enough, because the meat is spoiled between one morning and evening, and is commonly so lean, that it is tasteless. Ordinarily you find in the shambles nothing but the quarters of great kids, which often also are very lean and hard. It is true, that since I have learned something of the manner of the country, I find both meat and bread good enough, because I send my servant to the fortress to the King's caterers, who are very ready to let him have what is good for good payment, though it cost them nothing. And it was in reference to this that one day I made my Agah smile, when I told him that I had I know not how many years lived by artifice and stealing, and that for all the 150 crowns pay he monthly allowed me, I was ready to be starved; whereas in France, for half a rupie, I could every day eat as good a bit of meat as the King.

They have no capons, all that people being too tender hearted towards all animals, but men, whom they need for their seraglios. But the markets are full of hens, that are very good and cheap: among the rest there is one sort of little ones, that I called Ethiopian hens, because they have their skin black like the Ethiopians, which are very tender and very delicate.

Pidgeons there are, but no young ones, because they will not kill them young; they would be (say they) too small, and it were ill-done to kill such poor little animals.

There are also partridges, but smaller than ours, and generally (seeing they bring them afar off alive, knowing how to take them with nets) they are worse than our pullets. The like may be said of their ducks and hares, of which they also bring whole cages full alive.

Concerning fish, the people here are no great fish-mongers; yet at times one meets with very good fish,

especially of two sorts, the one resembleth our pike, and the other our carp; but that is only when it is not cold, for the Indians fear that much more than we Europeans apprehend heat. And if at any time you meet accidentally with any, the eunuchs who love them excessively (I know not why) carry them presently away. None but the Omrahs have power to make men fish when they please, which they do with the korrah, that great common whip always hanging at their gates.

From all that I have said, you may, by the bye, see whether a man ought to leave Paris to come to Delhi to make good cheer. Certainly the grandees have all things, but that is upon the account of their many servants, of the korrah, and of the plenty of money. And thence it was once said, "That at Dehli there is no mean; there you must either be a great lord, or live miserably:" for I have experienced it myself, in a manner dying of hunger this good while, though I have had considerable pay, and was resolved to spare nothing that way, because, commonly there is found nothing in the markets but the refuse of the grandees. Besides that, the soul of a feast, which is good wine, is not there; not that no grapes do grow there to make wine, (for I have drunk some at Amadevad and Golkonda, in the houses of Englishmen and Hollanders, that was not ill,) but because it is prohibited to make wine, in regard that not only by the law of Mahomed, but also by that of the heathen, it is not permitted to drink any: so that it is very rare to find wine, and that which we find comes out of Persia from Chiras by land to Benderabsy, from thence by sea to Surat, and from Surat hither by land in forty-six day: or it comes from the Cararies, brought also over sea to Surat by the Dutch. And both are so dear, that the cost (as the saying is) maketh it lose the taste; for a bottle holding about three Parisian pints cometh often to six or seven crowns, and more. That which is of this country's growth

is called Arrac, a strong water made of sugar not refined, and even this is expressly prohibited to be sold, and there are none but Christians that dare drink of it, except others do it by stealth. This is a drink very hot and penetrant, like the brandy made of corn in Poland. It so falls upon the nerves, that it often causeth shaking hands in those that drink a little too much of it, and casts them into incurable maladies. Here we must accustom ourselves to fair and good water, and to lemonade, which is excellent, and may be made with small charges, and both not spoil the stomach. But to say all, a man hath no great inclination, in such hot countries as these, to drink wine; and I am willing notice should be here taken together with me, that the abstinence from wine in these parts, joined to the general sobriety of the natives, and to the sweats and perpetual transpiration made by the pores, are the cause (in my opinion) that we almost know not what is the gout, the stone, aches of the kidney's rheumatism, quartans; and that those that bring any of these sicknesses hither, as I did, are at length totally freed from them: and further, that the pox itself, though frequent, is not so pernicious here as in Europe: so that people generally live here more healthily than with us. But then, on the other hand, there is not so much vigour here in people, as in our cold climate; and this feebleness and langour of body is a kind of perpetual malady, very troublesome to all, especially in the great heats of summer, and more so to the Europeans, whose bodies are not yet inured to heat.

As for shops of excellent handicraftsmen, that is also a thing we must not look for here: all we find is but very little; not that the Indians have not wit enough to make them successful in arts, they doing very well (as to some of them) in many parts of India, and it being found that they have inclination enough for them, and that some of them make (even without a master) very pretty workmanship, and imitate so well our work of Europe, that the

difference thereof will hardly be discerned. I have seen amongst them even of our kind of guns, very fine and very good; and pieces of goldsmith's work so well done, that I doubt whether in Europe they could be made better. I have also seen picture and miniature such curious and delicate pieces, that I admired them. Amongst others, I have seen the combats of Ecbar, represented upon a buckler by a famous painter, who was said to have been seven years working at it, which seemed to me an admirable piece of work. It is manifest, that they want nothing but good masters and the precepts of art, to give them just proportions; and above all that life of the face, to which they have not yet been able to attain. The reason therefore why in the shops of Delhi there are rarely found good handicraftsmen, is not want of wit, but contempt of the workmen, who are ill-treated, and whose work is debased to too low a price. If some Onrah or Mansubdar will have any thing made by a workman of the Bazar, he will send for him, and make him work in a manner by force, and afterwards pay him as he pleaseth; and the man will think himself happy too, if in part of payment he receive not the Korrah. What heart then can a poor workman have to take pains to succeed in his workmanship? He considers nothing but to despatch his work, thereby to earn something to put bread into his mouth. So that if there be any of them that succeed, they are of those whom the great lords entertain in their service, and that work only for them.

Touching the things within the fortress, where are the seraglio, and some other royal edifices, you must not look for a Louvre or an Escorial; those buildings do not resemble ours, nor by what I have said ought they to resemble them; it is enough that they have that stateliness, which is proper for the climate.

I find nothing remarkable at the entry, but two great elephants of stone, which are on the two sides of one of

the gates. Upon one of them is the statue of Jamel, that famous Raja of Chitar; and upon the other, that of Polta his brother. These are those two gallant men, that together with their mother, who was yet braver than they, cut so much work for Eckbar; and who in the siege of towns, which they maintained against him, gave such extraordinary proofs of their generosity, that at length they would rather be killed in the out-falls with their mother, than submit: and for this gallantry it is, that even their enemies thought them worthy to have these statues erected for them. These two great elephants, together with the two resolute men sitting on them, do at the first entry into this fortress make an impression of, I know not, what greatness and awful terror,

After you have passed this gate, you find a long and large street, divided into two by a channel of running water, and having on both sides, as our Pont-neuf, a long raised wall five or six feet high, and four broad; and further off some arches shut, that follow one another all along in form of gates. It is upon this long raised place, that those clerks, controllers, and other small officers, sit to do their office, without being incommoded by the horses and people that pass along beneath. And it is there also where the Mansebdars or little Omrahs, are at night to keep the guard. The water of the channel runneth dividing itself through the whole seraglio, and at length falleth into the ditches to fill them. It is drawn out of the river by a channel opened five or six leagues above Delhi, and conveyed a cross the field and there some rocks that have cost great pains to be cut in divers places. And this is very near what may be seen at the entry into one of the two principal gates, that answer to the great piazza.

If you enter at the other gate, you also find presently a pretty long and large street, having its risings on the sides as the other, together with shops upon them in lieu of the

arches. This street is properly a Bazar, which is very commodious during the season of the rains and summers, because it is covered by a long and large vault, which hath on the top great openings to let in light.

Besides those two streets, there are many other small ones on the right and left hand, that lead to the apartments where the Omrahs keep their guard, each in his turn, once a week, for twenty-four hours. These places are stately once for *Corps des guards*, the Omrahs striving to beautify them at their own charges. These are ordinarily great raised places respecting a parterre, that hath its little channels of running water, small conservatories and jets of water. The Omrahs, during the twenty-four hours of guard, take no care for their table, the King sending them all their meal ready dressed, and they being but to receive it, as they do, with very much ceremony and respect, making three obeyances of thanks, by elevating their hand upon their head, and bowing down to the ground, their face turned toward the King.

There are also found many raised walls and tents in sundry places, that are the offices of several officers. Besides there are many great halls that are the *Kar-kanays*, or places where handy-craftmen do work. In one of these halls you shall find embroiderers at work, together with their chief that inspects them; in another you shall see gold-smiths; in a third, picture drawers; in a fourth, workmen in Lacca; in others, joiners, turners, taylors, shoemakers, in others, workmen in silk and purified gold, and in all those sorts of fine cloth, of which they make turbans, girdles, with golden flowers, and those drawers of ladies, that are so fine and delicate, as that sometimes they last them but one night, though they often cost them ten or or twelve crowns, when they are of that fashion, as I have mentioned; I mean enriched; with those fine embroideries of needle-work.

## BERNIER'S VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES.

All these handy craftsmen come in the morning to the *ose* *Kar-kanays*, and work there all day long, and at night return to their several homes, every one passing his life quietly, without aspiring above his condition : for the embroiderer maketh his son an embroiderer, the goldsmith maketh his son a goldsmith, and a physician in a town maketh his son a physician ; and nobody marrieth but with those that are of his trade ; which is religiously observed, not only among the Heathen that are obliged to sit it by their law, but almost always among the Mahomedans themselves : whence it is that you may often see very handsome young women that remain unmarried, passing their time as well as they can, though they might meet with good matches, if their parents would or could marry them into another family, esteemed less noble than their own.

After all these apartments, we come at length to the *Am-kas*, which is something very royal. This is a great square court with arches, as may be our *Place Royal* ; with this difference, that there are no buildings at top, and that the arches are severed from another by a wall, yet so that there is a small gate to pass from one to another. Over the great gate, which is in the middle of one of the sides of this square, there is a large raised place, all open on the side of the court, which is called *Nagar-kanny*, because that is the place where the trumpets are, or rather the hautboys and timbals, that play together in consort, at certain hours of the day and night ; but this is a very odd consort in the ears of an European that is a new comer, nor yet accustomed to it ; for sometimes there are ten or twelve of those hautboys and as many timbals, that sound altogether at once ; and there is a hautboy which is called *Karna*, a fathom and a half long, and of half a foot aperture below ; as there are timbals of brass or iron, that have no less than a fathom in diameter where it is easy to judge what a noise they must needs make. Indeed this music in



the beginning did pierce and stun me, that it was unsufferable for me; yet I know not what strange power custom hath, for I now find it very pleasing especially in the night, when I hear it afar off in my bed upon my tarrass; then it seemeth to me to carry with it something that is grave, majestical and very melodious. And there is some reason for this melody; for seeing it hath its rules and measures, and that there are excellent masters taught from their youth to manage it, and perfectly know how to qualify and temper those strong sounds of the hautboys and timbals, it cannot be otherwise, but they must thence obtain some sympathy that cannot be displeasing to the ear, provided (as I said) that it be heard at a distance. And even for this reason it is, that they have placed the Nagar-kanay very high, and remote from the ears of the King, as you will hear by and by.

Over against the great gate of the court upon which is the Nagar-kanay, beyond the whole court, there is a great and stately hall with many ranks of pillars high raised, very airy, open on three sides, looking to the court, and having its pillars and ground painted and gilded. In the midst of the wall, which separateth this hall from the seraglio, there is an opening or kind of great window, high and large, and so high that a man cannot reach to it from below with his hand: there it is where the King appears seated upon his throne, having his sons on his sides, and some eunuchs standing, some of which drive away the flies with peacock's tails, others fan him with great fans, others standing there ready with great respect and humility for several services. Thence he seeth beneath him all the Omrahs, Rajahs, and ambassadors, who are also all of them standing upon a raised ground encompassed with silver rails, with their eyes downwards, and their hands crossing their stomachs: somewhat farther off he seeth the Mansebdars, or lesser Omrahs, which are also standing in the same

posture and respect as the Omrahs do : and somewhat farther off, in the remaining part of the hall, and in the court he seeth a great crowd of all sorts of people. For there it is where the King every day about noon giveth a general audience to all ; which is the reason that this great hall is called Am-kas, that is place of audience, or a place of meeting common to great and small.

During an hour and an half, or thereabouts, whilst this assembly lasteth, the King is diverted by seeing pass before him a certain number of the handsomest horses of his stables, to see whether they be well-dressed, and in good plight. So he doth see a good number of elephants passing also before him, whose dirty bodies are then well-washed and cleansed, and painted black like ink, except that they have two great streaks painted red, which from the top of their head come down to their trunk, where they meet. These elephants have then also certain deckings embroidered with a couple of silver bells hanging down on the sides, fastened to the two ends of a great silver chain, passing over their shoulders ; as also certain cow-tails of the great Tibhet, white and very dear, hanging at their ears like great mustachoes, and two little elephants well accoutred going by their sides, as if they were their slaves and appointed to serve them. These great colosses, as if they were proud to see themselves so bravely adorned and attended, march with much gravity ; and when they are come before the King, the conductor that sits upon their shoulders, with a pointed iron in his hand, pricketh them, and speaketh to them, and maketh them bow with one knee, and lift up their trunk into the air and make a noise, which the people take for a Taslim, or deep salute.

After these elephants, there are brought divers tamed Gazelles, which are made to fight with one another ; as also some Nilgaus, or grey oxen, which, in my opinion, are a kind of Elands, and Rhinoceros, and those great Buffaloes

of Bengala with their prodigious horns, to combat with a lion or tiger; likewise leopards, or panthers tamed, which he useth in the hunting of Gazelles: further, some of those handsome hunting dogs of Osbec of all sorts, every one with his little red cover; store of birds of prey of all kinds, some of which are for partridges, others for cranes, others to fall upon hares, and, as they say, upon the very gazelles, beating their heads, and blinding them with wings and claws.

Often also one or two of the Omrahs cause, at that time, to pass their cavalry for a review before the King: Omrahs coveting that their horsemen should appear gallant, advantageously decked with extraordinary garments, and their horses trapped with iron, and harnessed with I know not how many different and odd fashions.

The King taketh sometimes pleasure himself to cause cutlasses, or short swords, to be tried upon dead sheep, brought to him without their bowels, and very neatly packed up, where the young Omrahs, Mansebdars, and Gourzebendars, or mace-bearers, strive to shew their force and dexterity by cutting asunder the four legs joined together, and the body of the sheep all in one stroke.

Meantime all these advertisements are nothing but an interlude of serious affairs: for, as I have said, the King omits not to make a master of his cavalry, and well to view them himself. We have seen, that the war being ended, there is not one cavalier, nor any other soldier, but he hath seen him and examined him, either to increase his pay, or to lessen it, or quite to cashier him. Besides it is seen every day, that he commands the petitions, which are shewed him afar off in the crowd of the people, to be brought to him and to be read; ordering the parties concerned to approach, and examining them, and often causing justice to be done them immediately, although he hath the Adaletkanay, the chamber of justice, where he ordinarily is present once a week, attended by his two first kadys, or chief

justices ; and though also at one other time in the week he hath the patience to hear in private, for the space of two hours, ten persons of the common people, whom a good and rich old man presents to him. Whence it appears (to note by the bye) that those kings, how barbarous soever esteemed by us, do yet constantly remember, that they owe justice to their subjects. All that I have been relating to you of what is transacted in this assembly of the Am-kas, seems to me great and royal ; but that which hath extremely offended me there, is a kind of adulation too mean and flat, commonly heard in that place. For the King cannot say a word to any purpose, but he is presently exalted, and some of the first Omrahs lifting up their hands, as if they were to receive some benediction from Heaven cry out, "Karamat ! Karamat ! Wonder ! Wonder !" Neither is there any Mogolian but he knoweth and glorieth in reciting this proverb in Persian verse :

*" Aguer chach ronsra Gouyed cheb eft in  
" Bubayed Gouft inek mah ou peruin."*

*" If the King saith at noon-day, it is night ; you are to say,  
behold the moon and the stars."*

This vice passeth even unto the people. I have seen in hundred times people of Mogul, who having need of me in some business, made no scruple to come and tell me to my face, for a pretty trifle, that I was Aristotalis, Bocrate, and Abonysina Ulzaman ; the Aristotle, the Hippocrates, and the Advicenna of the time. At first I endeavoured to fence myself against it, by this ordinary complement, that I was none such, and was far inferior to the merit of those men : but that made them worse ; so that I thought it better to accustom my ears to their flatter, as I have done to their music. I cannot forbear imparting to you this little piece of flattery, because that will let you see the more how far they carry it. A Pendet Brachman, or heathen doctor,

whom I had put to serve my Agah, at the entering into his service would needs make his panegyric, and after he had compared him to the greatest conquerors that ever were and told him in hundred gross and impertinent flatteries, at last concluded seriously with this: "When you put your foot into the stirrup, my lord, and when you march on horse-back in the front of the cavalry, the earth trembleth under your feet, the eight elephants, that hold it up upon their heads, not being able to support it." I could not hold laughing, and I strove seriously to tell my Agah, who could hold neither, that then he would do well not to go on horse-back but very seldom, to prevent earthquakes, which often cause so great mischiefs. Who quickly made this repartee, with a constrained countenance between serious and sniffling: "And it is therefore, that I cause myself ordinarily to be carried in a palkey.

But no more of this: from the great hall of the Am-kas one enters into a more retired place, called the Gosel-kane, that is, the place to wash in: but few are suffered to enter there; neither is the court of it so great as that of the Am-kas; but the hall is very handsome, spacious, painted and gilded, and its floor raised four or five foot high. There it is where the King is seated in a chair, his Omrahs standing round about him, and giveth a more particular audience to his officers, receiveth their accompts, and treateth of the most important affairs of state. All the Omrahs are obliged to be, without fail, every evening at this assembly, as in the morning at the Am-kas, else something is retrenched of their pay. There is only my Agah Danechmend-kan, that because he is a person of learning, and perpetually busy in studying or in foreign affairs, is dispensed with, except Wednesday, which is his day of being upon the guard. There are indispensable customs, and it is very just they should be so in respect to the Omrahs, because they are in a manner so in respect of the King; for he

almost never faileth to be at these two assemblies, unless some urgent affair do supervene, or he is exceedingly sick. And we did see, that Aureng-Zebe, ever in his last sickness, which was very dangerous, failed not to make himself to be carried thither once a day at least. It is true, he being sick to extremity, that if he had not been seen there, the whole kingdom would presently have been in disorder, and the shops shut up in the city.

Whilst the King in this hall of Goslekanay is busy, as I was saying, they omit not to let pass before him most of the things that are made to pass at the Am-kas. There is only this difference, that this assembly being held in the evening, and the court being then less, the review of the cavalry of the Omrahs is not made, as in the morning at the Am-kas; but then there is this of particular, that all the Mansebdars that are upon the guard, do salute the king, and pass before him with ceremony enough.—Before them marcheth with sufficient pomp that which is called the Kours, which are many figures of silver carried at the end of some great silver sticks, that are very fine and very artificially made; of which there are two that represent two great fishes,—two others that exhibit a fantastick animal of horrid figure, by them called Eiedeha; others that represent two lions, others two hands, others scales and many more whereof they make mysteries. Amongst these Kours and Mansebdars are mixed many Gourzeberdars, or mace-bearers, who are chosen men, tall of stature, and of a good mein, (spoken of elsewhere), and appointed to prevent disorders in assemblies, and to run about with speed to carry the orders, and to execute the commands of the king.

I now wish I could lead you about in the seraglio, as I have done in the rest of the fortress. But who is the traveller that can speak of that as an eye-witness? I have sometimes entered into it when the King was not at Delhi, and I think pretty far, upon the occasion of a great lady,

that was so sick that she could not be carried to the gate, according to custom; but I had always a covering of Kachemire over my head, which like a great scarf hung down to my feet, and an eunuch conducted me by hand, like a blind man, so that I cannot particularly describe to you what it is. Only in general I can tell you, according to what I have learnt from some eunuchs, that in it there are very handsome apartments severed one from another, more or less great and stately, according to the quality and the pensions of the women; that there is almost no chamber but it hath at its door a store-shouse of running water; that 'tis full of parterres, pleasant walks, shady places, rivulets, fountains, jets of water, grottos, great caves against the heat of the day, and great terrases raised high, and very airy, to sleep upon in the cool. In a word, you there know not what 'tis to be hot. They principally boast of a little tower respecting the river, being, say they, covered with plates of gold, as those two that are at Agra, and within all gold and azure, very handsome and rich pictures and looking glasses.

This is very near what I can tell you of the fortress; yet before we leave it, let us return once more to the Am-kas. I am now going to represent it to you after the manner I saw it at certain festivals of the year, especially at that which was kept after the war for an extraordinary rejoicing; for this is one of the most remarkable things I have seen.

The King appeared sitting upon his throne, in the bottom of the great hall of the Am-kas, splendidly apparelled. His vest was of white sattin flowered, and raised with a very fine embroidery of gold and silk. His turban was of cloth of gold, having a fowl wrought upon it like an heron, whose foot was covered with diamonds of an extraordinary bigness and price, with a great oriental topas, which may be said to be matchless, shining like a little sun. A collar of big

pearls hung about his neck down to his stomach, after the manner that some heathens wear here their great beads. His throne was supported by six high pillars. or feet, said to be of massy gold, and set with rubies, emeralds and diamonds. I am not able to tell you aright, neither the number nor the price of this heap of precious stones, because it is not permitted to come near enough to count them, and to judge of their water and purity : only this I can say, that the big diamonds are there in confusion, and that the throne is estimated to be worth four Kourours of rupees, if I remember well. I have said elsewhere, that a rupee is almost equivalent to half a crown, a Lac to a hundred thousand rupees, and a Kourour, to a hundred Lacs, so that the throne is valued at forty millions of rupees which are worth about sixty millions of French livres. Shah-Jehan, the father of Aureng-Zebe, is he that caused it to be made, to shew so many precious stones as successively had been amassed in the treasury, of the spoils of those ancient Patans and Rajas, and of the presents which the Omrahs are obliged to make yearly upon certain festival days. The art and workmanship of this throne is not answerable to the matter : that which I find upon it best devised are two peacocks covered with precious stones and pearls which are the work of a Frenchman, called—————that was an admirable workman, and after that having circumvented many princes with his doublets, which he knew how to make admirably well, fled unto this court, where he made his fortune. Beneath this throne there appeared all the Omrahs in splendid apparel, upon a raised ground covered with a great canopy of purfled gold with great golden fringes and enclosed by a silver balistre. The pillars of the hall were hung with tapestries of purfled gold, having the ground of gold ; and for the roof of the hall, there was nothing but great canopies of flowered sattin fastened with red silken cords, that had big tufts of silk mixed with threads of gold



*hanging on them. Below there was nothing to be seen but great silken tapestries very rich, of an extraordinary length and breadth. In the court there was set abroad a certain tent they call the Aspek, as long and large as the hall and more. It was joined to the hall by the upper part and reached almost as far as to the middle of the court; mean time it was all enclosed by a great balistre covered with plates of silver. It was supported by three pillars, being of the thickness and height of a barge-mast, and by some lesser ones, and they all were covered with plates of silver. It was red from without, and lined within with those fine Chites, or cloth painted by a pencil of Maslipatan, purposely wrought and contrived with such vivid colours, and flowers so naturally drawn of an hundred several fashions and shapes, that one would have said, it were an hanging parterre. Thus was the great hall of the Am-kas adorned and set out.*

As to those arched galleries which I have spoken of, that are round about the court; each Omrah had received orders to dress one of them at his own charges. And they now striving who should make his own most stately, there was seen nothing but purfled gold above and beneath, and rich tapestries under foot.

The third day of the feast, the King caused himself to be weighed with great ceremony, and after him divers Omrahs, in great scales, and with weights said to be of massy gold. I remember that all the Omrahs expressed a great joy, that the King weighed two pounds more now than the year preceding.

Every year there are held such kind of festivals, but never any was seen done with so much splendour and charge. It is said, that that which induced Aureng-Zebe to celebrate this splendid feast was nothing else but to make the merchants of purfled gold recover themselves, who had whole magazines full of it, much spoiled in these four or

*five years of war, wherein they could not sell them. These expences of the Omrahs were great; but the simple cavaliers paid their share of it, because that the Omrahs after the feast made them take off that commodity to make vests thereof.*

There is an ancient custom accompanying these feasts, which little pleaseth the Omrahs: and it is this, that then they are by respect obliged to make some fair presents to the King in proportion of their pay. There are some, that to appear brave, or for fear of being searched for the rapines by them committed in their offices and governments; or to purchase the favour of the King, in the hopes of having their pensions augmented, make them presents that are extraordinary. Some (which is ordinary enough) do present fine vessels of gold set with precious stones; others present fair pearls, diamonds, emeralds, or rubees (which also is very common); give him without other ceremony, a quantity of those pieces of gold, that are worth about a pistole and a half. I remember that Aureng-Zebe, being gone to visit (during this great festival) his visir, Jefer-kan, not as visir, but as a kinsman, and under the pretence of desiring to see a piece of building, which he had caused to be raised a new, Jafer-kan presented him in these pieces of gold, with the value of a hundred thousand crowns, some good pearls, and one ruby valued forty thousand crowns; but which Shah-Jehan, who was admirably well skilled in jewels, discovered not to be worth five hundred crowns; the which perplexed the first jewellers exceedingly, that had been deceived therein.

There is another thing sometimes attending these feasts which is odd enough: and that is a kind of fair, then held in the Mehale, or the King's seraglio. The women of the Omrahs and of the great Mansebdars, or little Omrahs (I mean those that are the handsomest and most gallant) are the she merchants that keep the fair, and sell commo-

dities ; the King is the merchant that buyeth, as also all those Begums or princesses, and other great ladies of the seraglio. The wares are fine purfled gold, or rich embroideries of the new fashion, some rich ribbons well wrought upon cloth of gold, or some pieces of that fine cloth which is worn by the great ladies, and other such merchandize of great price. If they ever have a handsome daughter, they forget not to bring her along with them to let the King see her, and so make her known to those Begums. The jest of this fair is, that the King comes to bargain with those she-merchants, like a petty merchant, penny by penny, contesting that they are not in earnest, that is too dear, that he will give no more than so much ; that the merchandise of such a one is far better, and the like. The women, on the other hand, do their best to make good their part, and without considering that 'tis the King, (which is the best of the sport) they contend and stand upon their price, till sometimes they come to high words, as that that is to be a merchant of snow (one of their phrases), that he understands nothing in the matter of wares, that he may go to another place, that that commodity is not for him, etc. The Begums do the like, or worse, for they sometimes fall to down-right railing, so that there is such a cry and noise buffoonery, that it cannot be paralleled. But when any price is agreed on, whoever buyeth on this or that side, the King payeth, and the Begums pay, all with ready money : and it also falls out often enough, that the King and the Begums, instead of silver rupees, let slide (in favour of the handsome she-merchant or her daughter) some rupees of gold, as if it were by mistake, and without taking notice of anything. The she-merchants also take it in like manner, all passes with expressions of raillery and gallantry. Shah-Jehan, who did not hate the sex, would still multiply this fair, and have it all festival days, though he knew it did not very well please some Omrahs. But there is one thing

which to me seems to be a little too extravagant ; which is that the public women, I mean not those of the Bazar, but those more retired and considerable ones, that go to the great marriages in the houses of the Omrahs and Mansebdars to sing and dance, those that are called Kenchen, as if you would say, The gilded, the blossoming ones, that those, I say, did also enter in the time of Shah-Jehan into the seraglio at such fairs, and there passed even the whole night in singing and dancing. These are not of that sort which prostitute themselves promiscuously to all ; and they are most of them handsome and well appavelled, and excellent figures and dancers, after the mode of the country, surprizing in the suppleness of their body, and the nimbleness of their motions, yet in the upshot of the rank of public women. Shah-Jehan was not content only to have them come to the seraglio at those feasts, but when they came to salute him, according to that ancient custom that obligeth him to come every Wednesday to do obeysance to the King in the Am-kas, he often made them enter there, and to pass all night with him in such sports and *boufonneries*. Aureng-Zebe is more serious, he suffers them not to come into the seraglio ; he permits only (not to abrogate the custom) that they may ordinarily come every Wednesday to give him the Salam, or salute, in the Am-kas, at a distance, but they must presently return home again.

But since we are upon these feasts and fairs, and speak of these Kenchens, what hurt were it if I should tell you a story to make you merry, of one of our Frenchmen ; since Plutarch is of opinion, that little things are not always to be passed by, and that they often mind us more of the genius and temper of men than the greatest. This Frenchman called Bernard, was at this court about the latter years of King Jehan-Guire. He must needs have been some good physician, and withal excellent in chirurgery, according to the relations that are made of him. He was welcome

to Jehan-Guire, and became very familiar with him, to that degree that they drank and debauched together. Nor did this Jehan-Guire ever think on any thing but a good cup and merriment, leaving the mangement of the state to his wife, the renowned Nour-Mehale, or Nour-Jehan Begum, which, he used to say, had wit enough to govern the empire without his giving himself any trouble about it. Besides that this our countryman had of the King ten crowns daily pay, he gained yet more by treating those great ladies of the seraglio, and the grand Omrahs, that all made use of him, and presented him who could best, because he was both successful in his cures and extraordinarily favoured by the King : but he was a man that could keep nothing ; what he received with one hand, he at the same time gave away with the other ; so that he was known and loved by all, especially by those Kenchens, upon whom he made great expences, having always a set of them that passed the night at his house in singing and dancing, Meantime he chanced to fall in love with one of these women, that was young and beautiful, and danced exceeding well ; but the mother apprehending least the daughter, by prostituting herself, should lose her strength and vigour (as it will fall out : would not let her go out of her sight : so that Barnard could never find any other way to compass his ends but this. One day, when the King made him a present in the Am-kas before all the Omrahs, for a considerable cure he had done in the seraglio, he very submissively gave His Majesty thanks, waving the present, but instead of it, begged this favour of him, that he would vouchsafe to give him this young Kencheny, which he was amorous of, and which stood behind him. ready to make the usual obeysance to the King. The whole assembly broke out into laughter to see him waive the present, and to hear him make so ridiculous a demand, he being a Christian, and the woman a Mahomedan, and a Kencheny. But Jehan-Guire, who

never troubled his head much with Mahomedanism, and could not hold laughing aloud, presently commanded that this young woman should be given him, saying, 'Lay her on his shoulders, and let him carry her way.' So said so done; and in the presence of the whole assembly this Kenchen was put on Barnard's back, who went away thus charged, and carried her to his house.

I cannot forbear giving you here an account of advertisements, which usually these feasts end with, and which is unknown to us in Europe: and that is the combat of the elephants, which the King, the ladies of the court, and the Omrahs do behold from several apartments of the fortress, and which is shewn before all the people in this great sandy place which looks to the river.

They raise a wall of earth three or four feet broad, and five or six feet high. The two elephants that are to fight, meet one another face to face, one on the one side of the wall, the other on the other, each having two riders upon him, that so if the first, who sits on his shoulders (having a great pointed iron in his hand, to turn the beast on the right and left hand) should fall, the other who sits backward, may cast himself into his place. These four riders or guides do animate their elephants to the combat, and vigorously to fall upon their enemy, now flattering them, and by and by chiding them as cowards, and very rudely kicking them with their heels. After they have been a good while, thus chased and pushed on, then you shall see these two bulky masses come to the wall, and bluntly assault one another, and give such cruel blows with their teeth, head trunk, that you would think they would soon strike one another dead. This fight continues a while, then ceaseth, and begins afresh several times, until the mud-wall being overthrown, the stoutest of the two passeth upon the other, maketh him turn his back, pursueth him with blows of his teeth and trunk, and gets such a hold-fast upon him,

that there is no means of separating them, except it be with the Cherkys, that is, certain artificial fires cast betwixt them, this animal being very fearful of fire : whence it comes, and that since fire-arms have been used in armies, elephants do almost no good at all. It is true indeed, that some of those brave ones that come out of Ceilean, are not so timorous ; but that is not till they have been whole years accustomed to it, by discharging every day muskets before them, and by casting squibs between their legs, Meantime this conflict of elephants would be no such displeasing sight, if it were not so cruel, it often happening that some of those poor guides are trod under foot and perish : for the elephants in the combat have this malice, that they strive above all things to strike with their trunk, and to pull down the conductor of their adversary ; and thence it is that on the day when these poor riders know they are to make the elephants fight, they bid farewell to their wives and children, as if they were condemned to death. That which encourages and comforts them, is, that, if they escape and quit themselves well of their duty, the King increases their pay, and commands a sack of Peyssas, which amounts to about fifty French livres, to be forthwith given them ; or if they be killed upon the spot, he orders that pay be made to the widow, and the office to be given to his son if he have any. There is another mischief, which accompanieth this combat ; which is, that in this great throng there are always some persons overthrown by the elephant, or trod under foot by the horses, and people, [that on a sudden run away all at once, and fall one upon another, when the elephants are enraged, and the one pursueth the other, so that then one cannot at any nearness look on but without danger. For my part, the second time I saw it I did sufficiently repent for having approached so nigh, and if I had not had a good horse, and two good servants, I believe I should have paid for my curiosity as dear as others.

But it is time we should leave the fortress, and return into the city, there to observe to you two things I had forgot. The first is the great Mosque, seen afar off in the midst of the town, standing upon a rock, flatted to build upon, and to make round about a large place for four long and fair streets to end upon, and answering to the four sides of the Mosque, *vis.*, one to the principal gate, or frontispiece, another behind that, and the two others to the two gates that are in the middle of the two remaining sides. To come to the gates, there are twenty-five or thirty steps of fair and large stones going round about, except the back-part, which is covered with other great quarry-stones to cover the unevenness of the cut-rock : which contributes much to make this fabrick make a shew. The three entries are stately, there is nothing but marble, and their large gates are covered with copper-plates exceedingly well-wrought. Above the principal gate, which is much statelier than the two others, there are many small turrets of white marble as well without as within ; that in the middle is much bigger and higher than the two others. All the rest of the Mosque, I mean from these three domes unto the great gate, is without covering, because of the heat of the country ; and the whole pavement is large squares of marble. I grant willingly, that this structure is not according to the rules and orders of the architecture, which we esteem is indispensably to be followed ; yet I observe nothing in it that offends the eye ; but rather find all to be well-contrived, and well-proportioned : and I do even believe, that if in Paris we had a church of this way of architecture, it would not be disliked, if there were nothing else in it but that it is of an extraordinary and surprising aspect, and because that, excepting the three great domes and all the turrets, which are of white marble, it appears all red, as if all were nothing else but great tables of red marble, though it be nothing else but a stone very easy to cut, and which even



flanketh off in time. I shall add by the bye, that if it be true what is said of the quarries of this stone, it is remarkable, that it grows again every year; whether it be by a petrescent water yearly filling it, or otherwise I decide not.

This Mosque it is to which the king repaireth every Friday (which is the Sunday of the Mahomedans) to pay his devotion. Before he goes out of the fortress, the streets he is to pass, are constantly watered because of the heat and dust. Two or three hundred musquetiers are to stand and make a lane about the gate of the fortress, and as many more on the sides of a great street that ends at the Mosque. Their musquets are small, but well wrought, and they have a kind of scarlet-case with a little streamer upon them. Besides there must be five or six cavaliers well-mounted ready at the gate, and ride at a good distance before the king, for fear of raising dust; and their office is to keep off the people. Things being thus prepared, the king is seen to come out of the fortress seated upon an elephant richly harnessed, under a canopy with pillars painted and gilded; or else on a throne shining of gold and azure, upon two beams, covered with scarlet or purpled gold, carried by eight chosen and well accoutered men. The king is followed by a body of Omrahs, some of which are on horse-back, some in a palkey. Among these Omrahs there are many Mansebdars, and mace-bearers, such as I have before spoken of. And though this be not that splendid and magnificent procession, or rather masquerade of the Grand Seigneur, (I have no properer name for it) nor the warlike order of our kings, it being altogether of another fashion, yet for all that there is something great and royal in it.

The other thing I had forgot to acquaint you with, is an edifice in the city, called the Karvansarah of the princess; the renowned Begum-Saheb, eldest daughter of Shah-Jehan having caused it to be built at her charges, and willing to contribute something to the decoration of the town, as all

the Omrahs strove to do to please Shah-Jehan. This is another great square, arched like our Place-royal, but still with this difference, that one arch is separate from the other by a wall, and that in the bottom of every arch there is a little chamber ; and besides that, above the arches there is a gallery which rangeth round about the building, to enter into as many high chambers, as there are below. This place is the rendezvous of all the great merchants, Persians, Usbecs, and other strangers that ordinarily do there find empty chambers convenient enough, stay in for some time in great safety, the gate being shut every night. If there were a score of such structures in divers parts of Paris, strangers newly arriving would not be in that trouble, as often they are to find safe lodgings ; for there they might be until they had seen their acquaintance, and looked for good accommodation : besides that, they would serve for magazines of all sorts of commodities, and for the rendezvous of all merchants, strangers.

Before we leave Delhi, I shall add a few lines in reference to this question, which doubtless you will make, *vis*, Whether in Delhi there be as much people and gallantry as at Paris ? Certainly when I consider those three or four cities of Paris that are one above another, all those chambers and other rooms full from top to bottom ; when I farther consider that incredible throng and confusion of men and women, of horse-men and passengers on foot, of chariots, sedans and coaches, and that there are but few great piazzas and gardens in Paris ; this city seems to me a nursery of the world, and I can hardly believe, that there are as many people in Delhi. Yet notwithstanding, when I reflect upon that multitude of shops on one side of Delhi, and on the other, upon the vast extent of the city, and that there are never less in it than 35,000 cavaliers, not to speak of the houses of the Omrahs ; that of all these cavaliers, there are very few but have wives and children, and a great

number of servants having their houses apart as their masters ; and that all these houses swarm with women and children ; that in many places of Delhi, though the streets be broad, and there be but few chariots and no coaches, yet at hours when the heat suffers people to come abroad for their business, there is great confusion : when (I say) I consider all this on the other hand, I do not well know what to determine about the question ; and I imagine, that if there be not altogether so much people in Delhi as in Paris, yet at least there wants not much of it.

Concerning the number of gallant people, it be acknowledged, that there is this difference between those of Paris and Delhi, that of ten persons met with upon the streets of Paris, you shall see seven or eight well clothed and of some fashion, which no man will count rascally or beggarly people ; whereas in Delhi, for two or three persons that are pretty well-covered, you shall always find seven or eight poor and ragged people ; the army which is there drawing after it all the crew of beggars and rascals. Yet this is to be acknowledged for a truth, that in Delhi, as well as in Paris, one meets with a very great quantity of persons, well made, gallant, well-mounted, well-dressed, and well-attended : and indeed, to be upon the great place before the fortress, at the hours when all those Omrahs, Rajas, and Mansebdars go to the assembly and to the guard, that hath something great and splendid in it ; when you shall see there every day arrive those Mansebdars well-accoutered, shining with gold, and well-mounted, a couple of men going before them to make place, and as many behind ; when you shall also see many of those great Omrahs and Rajas riding upon proud elephants, and some of them on horse-back like the Mansebdars, and most of them sitting in their rich palkeys, carried upon the shoulders of six men, their back leaning against some thick cushion of purpled gold, chewing their betel, to have a good breath and vermillion lips, with a servant on

the side carrying a tooth-pick, and a porcelain, or silver spitting-vessel; and two more, fanning him and keeping off the flies and dust from him with peacock's tails, and three or four others marching before to put by the people; to which is to be added part of their cavalry (I mean the bravest and best mounted of them) following after: when I say, all this is seen together marching, as hath been said, with the crowd made there as well as at Paris, it will not be denied to be something great and very gallant.

As to the country about Delhi, it is considerable for its fertility; for it beareth rice, millet, and three or four other sorts of legumes, (which is the ordinary food of the common people) corn, sugar, indigo, and all that in abundance. At two leagues off the city on Agra's side, in a place by the Mahomedans called Koja Kotubuddin, there is a very ancient edifice which hath been a temple of idols, where are inscriptions that must also be very ancient, the characters of them being such, that nobody knows what they are, and different from those of all the languages of the Indies.

On another side, at two or three leagues distance from the town, you see a house of pleasure of the King's, which indeed is a stately and royal house, but yet you must not think it approacheth to Fontainebleau, or to St. Germain, or to Versailles. Neither must you imagine that in this Champaign of Delhi there are any St. Clou's, Chantilly's, Meudon's, Liancour's, Vau's, Reulle's, and many such others; or that you see there any of those other inferior houses of pleasure belonging to simple gentlemen, citizens and merchants. The maxim, that the subjects of a kingdom have no property in anything, hinders all that.

Lastly, to make you pass quickly those fifty or sixty leagues, which are betwixt Delhi and Agra, you are not to think, that upon this road you shall see any such large and rich boroughs as there are upon our roads. Set aside Maturas, where you see still an ancient and stately temple of idols,

and, excepting some Karavan-saras, that are well enough, found on the high-way to serve for night-lodgings, I find nothing considerable there, but that royal alley of trees planted by the command of Gehan-Guyre, and continued by the same order for a hundred and fifty leagues, with little pyramids or turrets erected every half league, to mark the ways, and with frequent wells to afford drink to passengers and to water the young trees.

*Of Agra.*—To pass to the description of Agra, you have the idea of it, if you have well taken that of Delhi; at least in respect of its situation, which is also upon the Gemna, and in regard of the fortress, or royal house, and of most of the buildings. It is true, that Agra hath this advantage over Delhi, that being a city where the Kings have already resided a long while, *viz.*, since Akber, who caused it to be built, and called it after his name Akber-abad, it is of greater extent than Delhi, and hath more of those fine houses of the Omrahs and Rajas, and more of the fair Karavansarahs, also more of those pretty houses of stone and brick belonging to particular persons; besides that, it hath two famous tombs, of which I shall speak hereafter: but then it hath these disadvantages, that it wants walls; that having been built altogether by one design, it hath not those fair and large streets of uniform buildings as Delhi; and that, excepting four or five of those principal streets of merchants, which are very long and well enough built, all the rest, for the most part, is nothing but a number of little streets, straight without proportion, and nothing but windings and turnings; which cause strange confusion when the court is there. I see no other difference between Agra and Delhi, than that I have been just now speaking of; except it be that Agra hath more of a country town than Delhi, especially when we look upon it from a higher place; but it is not such a country aspect as disgraceth it, but a very agreeable and diverting one; for there being betwixt the

houses of Omrahs, Rajas and others, store of big green trees mixt, every one having been curious to plant of them in his garden and in his court for shade ; and besides, those high houses of the Banians, or heathen merchants, appearing here and there between those trees, as relicks of old castles or fortresses ; all that causeth, within the town, very pleasing sights and perspectives, especially in a dry and hot country, where people's eyes seem to desire nothing but verdure and shade.

Meantime you need not go out of Paris, to find the most pleasing and the most gallant sight in the world. Take only a walk upon the Point-neuf, attentively beholding in the day-time all things surrounding you, together with that incredible and strange confusion of people ; and at night, the the infinite number of lights in the windows of those high buildings that are round about you ; and the same confusion which continues till after mid-night ; the good citizen, and (which you shall not see in any part of Asia) the fair she-citizen walking without fear of robbers, and without the inconvenience of dirt : and then the long files of stairs that brave the wind. the rain and darkness ; take only, I say, such a walk upon that bridge, observing all those things together, and then upon my word) you may boldly maintain it, that you are upon the spot of the fairest, bravest, and most magnificent artificial view of the earth ; unless it be some part of China or Japan, where I have not been. What will it be then when the Louvre, that work which was once thought would never be seen but in design and upon paper, shall be finished ? I have purposely added the word artificial, because speaking of the best perspectives that are, we must always except Constantinople, when one is in a boat in the midst of that great channel, over against the point of the seraglio ; for there you shall find yourself altogether surprised, as it were, in the midst of some great and vast enchanted amphitheatre ; but in this perspective,

the workmanship of nature is most considerable, whereas in that of Paris, art and dexterity is most conspicuous, which doubtless renders it more eminent, forasmuch as thereby it looks more like the seat of a great king, the capital of a great empire; and is really without flattering ourselves, and all those beauties of Delhi, Agra and Constantinople, considered and compared, the fairest, and the richest, the city of the world.

In Agra, the reverend fathers the Jesuits have a church and college, where, in private, they teach the children of some twenty-five or thirty Christian families, that have (I know not how) gathered and settled themselves there by the charity of fathers, the Christian doctrine. It was Akbar who (in the time of the great power of the Portuguese in the Indies) called them, and gave them a pension for their subsistence, permitting them to build churches in the capital cities of Agra and Lahore. And his son Jehan-Guyre favoured them yet more. But Shah Jehan, son of Jehan-Guyre, and father of Aureng-Zebe now reigning, took from them their pension, caused their church at Lahore to be pulled down, and the greatest part of that in Agra overthrowing also the steeple of the church, wherein that bell was that could be heard over all the town.

These fathers and Jesuits entertained great hopes of the progress of Christianity in the time of king Jehan-Guyre, because of his contempt of the Mahomedan law, and the esteem he professed to the Christian, and even giving way to two of his nephews to embrace the Christian religion, and to a certain Mirza-Zul-Karmin that had been bred in the seraglio, and was circumcised), to turn Christian too, under the pretence that he was born of Christian parents, and son of the wife of a rich Armenian, which Jehan-Guyre had caused to be brought to him to the seraglio.

The same father says, that the king, to begin in good earnest of countenance the Christian religion, designed to

put the whole court into the habit of the Franguis, and that after he had prepared all things for it, and even dressed himself in that fashion, he called to him one of the chief Omrahs, asking his opinion of his dress ; but that this Omrah altogether surprised at it, having answered him very seriously, that it was a very dangerous thing, he thought himself obliged to change his mind, and turned all into raillery.

These fathers affirm further, that he being upon the point of death, commanded that they should be called to make him a Christian, but that then they were not made acquainted with it. Many say, that this is not so, and that he died as he had lived, without any religion, and in the design he had, as well as his father Akbar, to set himself up for a prophet, and to become the head of a particular religion of his own composure. However it be, there is another thing I have learned of a Mahomedan, that was son to an officer of Jehan-Guyre, namely, that this king being one day in a debauch, called to him a certain religious man of Florence, whom he called father Atech, as being a little fiery man ; and after he had commanded him to say all he could against the law of Mahomed. and for the law of Christ, in the presence of many knowing Mullahs, he would have made this terrible trial of both those laws, *vis.*, that a great pit should be made, and a good fire in it, and that father, Atech with the gospel under his arm, and one of those Mullahs with the Alcoran under his, should cast themselves both together into that fire, and that he would embrace the law of him that should not burn. But that the sad countenance of the Mullahs, altogether astonished, and the compassion he had of the Florentine father, who accepted the condition, diverted him from it. Whatever the truth be of this story, it is certain, that whilst Jehan-Guyre lived these fathers were respected and honoured in this court, and that they conceived great hopes of the



advancement of Christianity in those parts; but that since that time they have had no great cause of hope much of, except perhaps what they received by the familiarity which our father Buze had with Dara. But I shall say no more of this matter of our missions, intending to give you a particular long letter of it another time.

Certainly I cannot but exceedingly approve of missions, and the good missionaries, especially our Capuchins and Jesuits, and some others of our neighbourhood, because they give meek instructions, without that indiscreet zeal and transport which is expressed by some others, and they charitably entertain the Christians of the country in their religion, whether they be Catholics or Greeks, or Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, or others; and for asmuch also as they are the refuge and comfort of poor strangers and travellers, and by their knowledge, sober, and exemplary life, they confound the ignorance and licentious life of the infidels, which some others do not always practise; who therefore would do better to keep themselves close in their convents, and not come hither and give us a masquerade of our religion, and by doing so, and by their ignorance, jealousy, looseness and the abuse of their authority and character, become a stumbling block to the path of Jesus Christ. But a particular thing infers no general; and notwithstanding those miscarriages, I very much applaud the missions, and pious and learned missionaries—they are absolutely necessary: it is the honour and prerogative of Christianity to have everywhere through the world substitutes of the apostles. But after all that I have seen, and after all the converse and discourse I have so often had with those obstinate infidels I may take leave to say, that I almost despair to see struck such great strokes as the apostles did, who converted two or three thousand people in one sermon; finding by experience, and knowing very well upon other accounts, after I have travelled through many places of

the missions in the East, that all the missionaries together, not only in the Indies, but in all the Mahomedan dominions, do indeed by their instructions, accompanied with charity and alms, make some progress among the Gentiles, but do in ten years not make one Christian of a Mahomedan. Truly these infidels have high thoughts of our religion. they never speak of Jesus Christ but with veneration; and they never pronounce the word Aysa, that is to say, Jesus, without adding that of Azeret, which is Majesty. They even agree with us, that he was miraculously born of a virgin-mother, and that he is the Kelum-Allah, and the Routh-Allah, the word of God, and the spirit of God; but it is not to be hoped, that they will approve the rest of our religion, so as to abandon theirs in which they were born, and their false prophet, to embrace ours, what reasons soever be given them. Our Christians of Europe ought to wish, and even to employ their power, care, and charity, that missionaries may be sent over all, such as may be no charge to the people of the country, and whom want may not induce to do mean things, as well for the reason already alledged, as for this cause, that they may be ever ready to lay hold on all occasions, always to bear witness to the truth and to labour in the vineyard when it shall please God to give them an overture. But for the rest we ought to be disabused, and not to suffer ourselves to be so easily persuaded of so many stories, and not to believe the thing to be so facile as some make it. The sect is too much libertine, and too attractive to quit it; it is a pernicious law, which hath been introduced by arms and force, and still gets ground by those means; and I hardly know any other way capable to shake and root it out. If therefore there intervene not some of those grand and extraordinary strokes of heaven, and God by his powerful and particular evidence interpose not, (as we ought always to hope, according to the great appearances there have been in China, in Japan,

and in the person of King Jehan-Guyre), considering the irreverence of the Christian in their churches, so dissonant from our belief of the particular presence of God upon our altars, and so different from that deep and astonishing respect which those infidels bear to their mosques, where they would not so much as turn their head, or speak the least word to one another; there will always be great obstacles to their conversion.

In Agra the Hollanders have also a house, where ordinarily they keep four or five persons. Formerly they had a good trade there in selling scarlet, great and small looking-glass, plain lace, and gold and silver lace, and some small wares, and in buying indigo, which is gathered round about but especially at Biances, but two leagues distant from it, and whither they go once a year, having a house there for that purpose, as also in having those clothes of Jelapour and Laknau, at seven or eight days' journey from Agra, where they also keep a house, and whither they send some factors once a year. But now they say that there is little profit for them in that trade, whether it be that the Armenians drive the same traffic, or that it is so far from Agra to Surat, or that commonly some mischief or other befalls their Caravans, which must pass by Amad-avaid over all the countries of the Rajas to avoid the ill-ways, and the mountains that are on the side of Gwalior and Brampour, which is the nearer way. Yet notwithstanding these discouragements, they will never (I believe, abandon this factory, as the English have done theirs in that place, if it were for nothing else but their spices, which there they sell very well, and for having some of their people near the court taking care of their concerns, since it cannot be otherwise, but that frequently some trouble will befall their factories, by the tyranny of the Governor and other officers, now from the side of Bengala and Patna, another time from Surat and Amad-avad.

We will conclude this part with those two wonderful mausolems, or tombs, that give to Agra so much advantage over Delhi. It was Jehan-Guyre that caused the first to be erected to honour the memory of his father Eckbar and Shah-Jehan raised the other in honour of Taje-Mehalle his wife, that extraordinary and celebrated beauty of the Indies, whom he loved so passionately, that it is said he never enjoyed any other woman but her whilst she lived and that when she died, he was in danger to die himself.

I shall not stay to discourse of the monument of Eckbar, because whatever beauty is there, is found in a far higher degree in that of Taje-Mehalle, which I am now going to describe unto you. You may therefore represent to yourself, that at the going out of the city of Agra eastward, you enter into a long and broad paved street, which riseth gently, and hath on one side a high and long wall, making the side of a square garden that is much bigger than our Place Royal, and on the other side a row of new houses arched, such as those of the principal streets of Delhi above spoken of. Having gone the length of half the wall, you shall find on the right hand of the side of the houses a great gate well made, by which one enters into a caravan-serah, and over against it, on the wall's side, a stately gate of a great square pavilion, by which you enter into the garden between two conservatories built up with free-stone. This pavilion is longer than it is large, built of a stone-like red marble, but not so hard. The frontispiece seems to me very magnificent, after their way, and as high as that of St Louis in the street of st. Anthony. It is true you do not there see columns, architraves and cornishes, cut out after the proportion of those five orders of architecture so religiously observed in our palaces : it is a different and particular kind of structure, but such an one as wants no agreeableness even in the unusualness of its contrivance, and which, in my opinion,

would very well deserve a place in our books of architecture: It is almost nothing but arches upon arches, and galleries, over galleries, disposed and ordered a hundred different ways; and yet all appears stately, well enough contrived and managed. There is nothing that offends the eye; on the contrary all is pleasing, and a man cannot be weary in beholding it. The last time I saw it, I was there with one of our French merchants, who also could not behold it enough. I durst not tell him my thoughts of it, apprehending it might have spoiled my gust, and framed it accordiog to that of Indostan.—But he being lately come from France, I was very glad to hear him say, 'He had never seen any thing so august and bold in Europe.'

After you are somewhat entered into the pavilion to pass into the garden, you find yourself under a high vault made like a cap, which hath galleries round about and below, on the right and left side, two divans or causeways, made up of earth of eight or ten foot high. Opposite to the gate there is a great arch quite open, by which you enter into an alley, which cuts almost the whole garden into two equal parts. This alley is by way of terrass so large, as that six coaches can pass on it a breast, paved with great squares of hard stone, raised some eight feet above the garden-plots, and divided in the middle by a channel walled up with free stone, having jets of water at certain distances. After you have gone twenty-five or thirty paces upon this alley, turning your eye to behold the entry, you see the other face of the pavilion, which though it be not comparable to that which looks to the street, yet wants not its stateliness, being high and of a structure approaching the other. And on both sides of the pavilion, along the wall of the garden, you see a long and profound gallery by way of terrass, supported by many low columns near one another: And this gallery it is, that during the season of the rains, the poor are permitted to enter, who come there thrice a

week, receiving alms from a foundation made there by Shah-Jehan for ever.

Advancing further in this alley, you discover at a distance before you a great dome, where is the sepulchre, and below on the right and left hand you see divers alleys of a garden set with trees, and several parterres covered with flowers. At the end of this alley, besides the dome before you, you discover on the right and left two great pavilions built on the same stone, and frequently, looking all red as the first. These are great and spacious square edifices, made by way of terrass, opening by three arches, and having at the bottom the wall of the garden, so that you march under them as if they were high and large galleries.

I shall not stay to describe unto you the ornaments within these pavilions, because in respect to their walls, ground-plot, and pavement, they are not much unlike the dome, which I am going to delineate to you, after I shall have observed, that between the end of the alley (which we have spoken of) and the dome, there is a pretty large space of a floor, which I call a water-parterre, because that the diversely cut and figured stones you march upon, are there instead of the box-wood of our parterres. And it is from the midst of this parterre, that you may conveniently see a part of this edifice, where the sepulchre is, which remains now to be considered.

It is a great and vast dome of white marble, which is near the height of that of our Val de Grace in Paris, surrounded with many turrets of the same matter, with stairs in them. Four great arches support the whole fabric, three of which are visible, the fourth is closed in by the wall of an hall, accompanied with a gallery, where certain Mullahs (entertained for that end) do continually read the Alcoran, with a profound respect to the honour of Taje-Mehalle. The mould of the arches is enriched with tables of white marble, wherein are seen engraven large Arabian characters

of black marble, which is very agreeable to behold. The interior or concave part of this dome, and the whole wall from top to bottom is covered with white marble ; and there is no place which is not wrought with art. and hath not its peculiar beauty. You see store of Agæe, and such sort of stones as are employed to enrich the Chapel of great Duke of Florence ; much jasper and many other kinds of rare and precious stones, set a hundred several ways, mixed and enchased in the marble that covers the body of the wall. The squares of white and black marble, that make the floor, are likewise set out with all imaginable beauty and stateliness.

Under this dome is a little chamber enclosing the sepulchre, which I have not seen within, is not being opened but once a year, and that with great ceremony, not suffering any Christian to enter, for fear (as they say) of prophaning the sanctity of the place : but really by what I could learn because it hath nothing rich or magnificent in it.

There remains nothing else, than to give you occasion to take notice of an alley in the fashion of a terrass, twenty or twenty-five paces large, and as many or more high, which is betwixt the dome and the extremity of the garden, whence you see below you, at the foot of it, the river Gemna running along a great campaign of gardens, a part of the town of Agra, the fortress, and all those fair houses of the Omrahs that are built along the water. There remains no more. I say, than to cause you to observe this terrass, which taketh up almost the whole length of one side of the garden, and then to desire you to judge, whether I had reason to say, that the Mausoleum, or tomb of Taje-Mehalle, is something worthy to be admired. For my part I do not yet well-know, whether I am not somewhat infected still with Indianism ; but I must needs say, that I believe it ought to be reckoned amongst the wonders of the world, rather than those unshapen masses of the Egyptian

pyramids, which I was weary to see after I had seen them twice, and in which I find nothing without, but pieces of great stones ranged in the form of steps one upon another, and within nothing but very little art and invention.

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*A Letter written to Mr. Chaplain, sent from Chiras in Persia, October 4, 1667: Concerning the superstitious, strange fashions, and the doctrine of the native Indians or Gentiles of Hindustan. Whence may be seen, that there are no opinions so ridiculous, and so extravagant; which the spirit of man is not capable of:*

SIR,

If I should live whole ages, I know not whether I could ever forget those two eclipses of the sun, of which I saw one in France, in the year 1654, and the other in the Indies at Delhi in the year 1666, if I remember aright. The former seemed very remarkable to me upon the account of the childish credulity of our common people, and of that panic terror which had so seized the heart; that some bought drugs against the eclipse others kept themselves close in the dark in their caves, and their well-closed chambers; others cast themselves in great multitudes into the churches; those apprehending some malign and dangerous influence, and these believing that they were come to their last day and that the eclipse would shake the foundations of nature, and overturn it, notwithstanding any thing that the Gassendi's, Robervals, and many other famous philosophers could say or write against this persuasion, when they demonstrate, that this eclipse was of the same nature with so many others that had preceded without any mischief, and that it was a known accident, foreseen and ordinary,



which had nothing peculiar, but what some cheating astrological mountebank might have devised.

That which I saw at Delhi, seemed also very considerable to me, by reason of the ridiculous errors and superstitions of the Indians. At the time when the said eclipse was to appear, I went up to the terrass of my house, which was situated on the side of the river Gemna, thence I saw both sides of the river, for near a league in length, covered with the heathen idolaters, that stood in the water up to their girdle, demurely looking up into the sky, to the end that they might plunge and wash themselves at the moment when the eclipse should begin. The little boys and girls were stark naked; the men were almost so too, but that they had a scarf round their thighs to cover their nakedness: and the married women, together with the young maids that were not above six or seven years old, were covered with a single cloth. Persons of condition, as the Rajahs, or sovereign princes of those Gentiles, (who commonly are about the person and in the pay pay of the king,) and the Serrahs or exchangers, the bankers, jewellers, and other great merchants, were most of them gone to the other side of the water with all their family, and had there put up their tents, and fastened in the river certain kanates, which are a kind of skreens to perform their ceremonies, and conveniently to wash themselves with their wives, so as not to be seen by others. These idolaters no sooner saw the eclipse begin, but they raised a great cry, and all at once plunged themselves wholly into the water, I know not how many times one after another; standing up afterwards in the water, and lifting up their eyes and hands to heaven, and muttering and praying with great devotion, and from time to time taking water with their hands, which they threw up towards the sun, bowing down their heads very low, moving and turning their arms and hands sometimes one way, sometimes another, and thus continuing

their plunging, praying and apishness unto the end of this eclipse; 'at which time every one retired, casting some pieces of silver a good way off into the water, and giving alms to the Brahmans or men of the law, who failed not to be at that ceremony. I took notice, that at their going out of the water, they all took new clothes that were laid ready for them folded up on the sand, and that many of the devouter sort left there their old garments for the Brahmans. And in this manner did I see from my terrass this great solemnity of the eclipse; which was celebrated after the same manner in the river Indus and Ganges, and in all the other rivers, as also in the receivers of waters in the Indies, but especially in that of the Tanaiser where were met together above a hundred and fifty thousand persons, come together from all parts of the Indies, because the water of it is on that day reputed more holy and efficacious than on any other.

The Great Mogul, though he be a Mahomedan, suffers these heathens to go on in these old superstitions, because he will not, or dareth not cross them in the exercise of their religion, and beside it is not performed without presenting him, by the hands of the Brahmans as Commissioners, a lacque or a hundred thousand rupees, which are worth above fifty thousand crowns, for which he returns nothing but a few vests and an old elephant. Now you shall see those solid reasons (forsooth) which they alledge for this feast, and for the ceremonies by them observed in it.

We have (say they) our four Beths, that is, books of the law, sacred and divine writings, given us by God through the hands of Brahma. These books do teach us, that a certain Deuta, which is a kind of corporeal divinity very malign and mischievous, very black and very filthy (these are their own expressions in their language) seizeth on the sun, blackens it as it were with ink, and so darkens it: that this sun, which is also a Deuta, but

of the best and the most beneficent and perfect divinities, is at that time in very great pains and terrible anguish, to see himself thus seized on and misused by that black villain : that it is a general duty to endeavour to deliver him from this miserable condition; which cannot be effected but by the force of prayers, washings and alms, and that these actions are of a very extraordinary merit, to such a degree, that an alms given at that time is worth an hundred given at another. Who is there, say they, that would not give cent per cent ?

Sir, these are the two eclipses I spoke of, which I shall hardly ever forget, and which minister occasion to me to proceed to some other extravagances of these Gentiles, when you may draw what consequences you shall please.

In the town of Jagannat, which is seated upon the gulf of Bengala, and where is that famous temple of the idol of Bengala, and where is that famous temple of the idol of the same name, there is yearly celebrated a certain feast, which lasts eight or nine days, if I remember well. There is found an incredible number of people, as there was anciently in the temple of Hammon, and as it is at this day at Mecca. This number, it is said, amounts sometimes to above an hundred and fifty thousand persons. They make a stately engine of wood as I have seen of them in many other places of the Indies, with I know not how many extravagant figures, almost such as we are wont to paint monsters with two heads or bodies, half man and half best, or gigantic and terrible heads, satyrs, apes or devils; which engine is put upon fourteen or sixteen wheels, such as the carriages of cannons may be, which fifty or sixty persons more or less do draw, or thrust forwards : upon the middle of it appears most conspicuously the idol Jagannat, richly dressed and adorned, which is thus transported from one place to another.

The first day that they shew this idol with ceremony in,

the temple the crowd is usually so great to see it, that there is not a year, but some of those poor pilgrims, that come a far off, tired and harrassed, are suffocated there; all the people blessing them for having been so happy, as to die on so holy an occasion. And when this hellish, triumphant chariot marcheth, there are found (which is no fable) persons so foolishly credulous and superstitious as to throw themselves with their bodies under those large and heavy wheels, which bruise them to death, having suffered themselves to be persuaded, that there is no action so heroic nor so meritorious and that Jagannat will at the same time receive them as his children, and cause them to be born again in a state of felicity and glory.

The Brahmans for their particular advantage and interest I mean that of alms and respect given to them as persons devoted to these mysteries, do entertain the people in these errors and superstitions, and they proceed even to such infamous cheats and villanie, that I could never have believed them, if I had not fully informed myself of it.

These impostors take a young maid, of the fairest they can meet with, to be the bride (as they speak, and bear the besotted people in hand,) of Jagannat, and they leave her all night in the temple (whether they have carried her,) with the idol, making her believe that Jagannat himself will come and embrace her, with appointing her to ask him, whether it will be a fruitful year, what kind of processions, feasts, prayers and alms he demands to be made for it. In the mean time one of these lustful priests enters at night by a little back-door into the temple, deflowereth young maid, and maketh her believe any thing he pleaseth; and the next day, being transported from this temple into another with the same magnificence, she was carried before upon the chariot of triumph on the side of Jagannat, her bridegroom; these Brahmans make her say aloud before all the people, whatsoever she had been taught of these cheats

as if she had learnt it from the very mouth of Jagannat. But let us go on (if you please), to follies of another kind.

Before this chariot and often in the very temples of the idols, on festival days, you shall see public women dance, making a hundred indecent and extravagant postures; and yet the Brahmans find a way to accord all that with their religion. I have seen some women, that are not only famous for their beauty, but also for great reservedness, which refused very considerable presents of certain Mahomedans and Christians, and even of heathen strangers, as if they were only dedicated to the ministry and the ministers of Deuta, or the idol temple, to the Brahmans and these Fakeers which are there seated most of them upon ashes round about, altogether with their fearful hair of Megera, and in the posture I shall speak of hereafter. But let us stay no longer upon these follies.

There are so many writers of voyages relating the custom of the Indian women, burning themselves with their husbands, that I think something at last will be believed of it. • For my part I am going to take my turn also, and to write to you of it like others; yet in the mean time observing withal, that it is not all true what is said of it, and that now they do not burn themselves in so great a number as formerly, because the Mahomedans, that bear sway at present in Hindustan, are enemies to that barbarous custom, and hinder it as much as they can: not opposing it absolutely, because they are willing to leave their idolatrous people, who are far more numerous than themselves, in the free exercise of their religion, for fear of some revolt. But by indirectly preventing it, in that they oblige the women, ready to burn themselves to go and ask permission of the respective governors who send for them, make converse with their own women, remonstrate things to them with annexed promises, and never give them this permission, after they have tried all these gentle ways, and till they

find them fixed in their sottish resolution which yet hinders not but that many burn themselves, especially of those that live upon the lands of the Rajas, where no Mahomedan governors are. I shall not stop to give you the history of all those, which I have seen burn themselves; that would be too long, and too tedious.—I shall only relate unto you two or three examples of them, whence you may judge of the rest; but first you shall have the relation of a worthy, which I was sent unto to divert her from such a mischievous design.

A friend of mine called Bendidas, the first clerk of my Aga Danech-mend-kan, died of an hec tick having been treated by the above for two years. His wife immediately resolved to burn herself, together with the body of her husband; but her parents, by the order of my Agah, whose servants they were, endeavoured to dissuade her from it, representing to her, that though it were indeed a generous and laudable resolution, and would be a great honour and happiness in the family, yet she ought to consider, that her children were yet little, that she could not adandon them, ann that she was to prefer their good, and the affection she had for them, to the love she had for her husband, and to her own satisfaction. These parents not having been able to prevail with her by all these representments, bethought themselves to besire me to go to her, as sent from my Agah, and as an ancient friend to the family. I went and when I came, I did, as soon as I came in, see a a cluster of seven or eight fearful old women, together with four or five infatuated and brain-sick Brahmins who all cried by turns, beating their hands about the dead corps, and the widow in her loose hair. looking pale, yet with dry and sparkling eyes, sitting and crying also aloud, and beating her hands, as the rest, with a kind of cadency, upon the feet of her husband. The out cry and noise being ended, I approached to this company of people, and addressing myself to the

widow, I gave her softly [to understand, that I came from Danechmend-kan; that he had appointed a monthly pension of two crowns to each of her two sons, but on condition that she should not burn herself, to the end that the might take care of them, and breed them up as was fit; that else we knew ways enough to hinder her from burning herself, if she were obstinate for it, and to make those repent that should allure and incite her to such an unreasonable resolution, especially since none of her kindred is satisfied with it, and that she would not be counted infamous, as those are that want the resolution to burn themselves after the death of their husbands, when they have no children, I often inculcated to her all these considerations, without hearing a word of answer from her; though at last she said looking fiercely upon me: Well, if I am hindered to burn myself, I am resolved to break my head against the wall. Then said I to myself, what diabolical fury doth possess thee? And to her I answered, full of indignation: Then take thy children, thou unhappy creature, and cut their throats, and burn them with thee; for they will be starved, being now ready to return to Danechmend-kan, and to annul their pension. These words being spoken by me, with the loudest and most menacing tone I could, made impression upon the spirit of this woman, and upon that of all the assistants: she presently, without any repartee, let her head sink down upon her knees, and most of the old woman and Brahmans went away. Whereupon her relations, that were come with me, entered and parleyed with her. And I, thinking I had done enough, took horse and came away to my lodging-, supposing they would do the rest well enough. In short, about evening, when I was going to give an account to my Agah of what I had done, I met with her parents, who thanked me, and said, that the dead corps had been burnt, and the widow persuaded to remain alive.

Concerning the women that have actually burned them-

selves, I have so often been present at such dreadful spectacles, at length I could endure no more to see it, and I retain still some horror when I think on it. Yet I shall represent to you some of them but pretend not to express to the life, with what courage and resolution these poor women achieved such a direful tragedy ; for there is nothing but the eye itself that can exhibit a right idea thereof.

When I was passing from Amad-avad to Agra, over the lands of the Rajas, that are in those parts, there came news to us in a borough, where the caravan rested under the shade (staying for the cool of the evening to march on their journey) that a certain woman was then upon the point of burning herself with the body of her husband. I presently rose and ran to the place where it was to be done, which was a great pit, with a pile of wood raised in it, whereon I saw laid a dead corps, and a woman which at a distance seemed to me pretty fair, sitting near it on the same pile, besides four or five Brahmans, as putting the fire to it from all sides ; five women of a middle age, and well attired all holding one another by the hand, and dancing about the pit, and a great crowd of people, men and women looking on. The pile of wood was presently all on fire, because store of oil and butter had been thrown upon it, and I saw at the same time through the flames, that the fire took hold of the clothes of the woman, that were imbued with well-scented oils, mingled with powder of santal and saffron. All this I saw, but observed not that the woman was at all disturbed ; yea, it was said, that she had been heard to pronounce with great force these two words, *Five, Two*, to signify, according to the opinion of those that hold the soul's transmigration, that this was the fifth time she had burnt herself with the same husband, and that there remained but two times for perfection ; as if she had at that time this remembrance, or some prophetic spirit. But here ended not this infernal tragedy : I thought it was only



by way of ceremony, that these five women sung and danced about the pit ; but I was altogether surprized, when I saw that the flame having taken hold of the cloathe of one of them. she cast herself with her head foremost into the pit, and that, after her, another, being overcome by the flame and smoke, did the like : and my astonishment redoubled afterwards, when I saw, that the remaining three took one another again by the hand, continued their dance without any apparent fear, and that at length they precipitated themselves, one after another into the fire, as their companions had done. It troubled me sufficiently, that I knew not what that meant, but I learnt shortly after, that these had been five slaves, who, having seen their mistress extremely afflicted at the sickness of her husband, and heard her promise him that she would not survive him, but burn herself with him, were so touched with compassion and tenderness towards this their mistress, that they engaged themselves in a promise to follow her in her resolution, and to burn themselves with her. Many persons, whom I then consulted about this custom of women burning themselves with the bodies of their husbands would persuade me, that what they did was from an excess of affection they had for them : but I understood afterwards, that it was only an effect of opinion, prepossession and custom ; and that the mothers, from their youth, besotted with this superstition, as of a most virtuous and most laudable action such as was unavoidable to a woman of honour, did also infatuate the spirit of their daughters from their very infancy : although at the bottom, it was nothing else but an art of the men, the more to enslave their wives, thereby to make them have the more care of their health, and to prevent poisoning of them.

But let us proceed to another tragedy, which I shall rather represent to you than many others, at which I have been present, because it hath something uncommon in it. It is true, I was not there myself ; but you may do as I do.

who do not stand out against crediting these things, because I have seen so many of them which seemed incredible to me. This jaction is grown so famous in the Indies, that nobody doubts of it, and it may be, that even yourself have already heard of it in Europe.

It is of a woman there was engaged in some love-intrigues with a young Mahomedan her neighbour, that was a taylor and could play finely upon the tabor. This woman in the hopes she had of marrying this young man, poisoned her husband, and presently came away to tell her taylor, that it was time to be gone together as they had projected, or else she should be obliged to burn herself. The young man fearing left he might be entangled in a mischievous business, flatly refused her. The woman not at all surprized at it, went to her relations. and advertised them of the sudden death of her husband, and openly protested that she would not survive him, but burn herself with him. Her kindred well satisfied with so generous a resolution, and the great honour she did to the whole family, presently had a pit made, and filled with wood, exposing the corps upon it, and kindling the fire. All being prepared, the woman goes to embrace and bid farewell to all her kindred that were there about the pit, among whom was also the taylor, who had been invited to play upon the tabor that day, with many other of that sort of men, according to the custom of the country. This fury of a woman being also come to this young man, mad as if she would bid him farewell with the rest; but instead of gently embracing him she taketh him with all her force about his collar, pulls him to the pit, and tumbleth him together with herself into the ditch, where they both were soon despatched.

She which I saw burn herself, when I parted from Surat to travel into Persia, in the presence of Monsieur Chardin of Paris, and of many English and Dutch, was of a middle age, and not unhandsome. To represent unto you the un-

daunted chearfulness that appeared in her countenance, the resolution with which she marched, washed herself, spoke to the people; the confidence with which she looked upon us, viewed her little cabin, made up very dry millet-straw and small wood, went into this cabin and sat down upon the pile and took her husband's head into her lap, and a torch into her own hand, and kindled the cabin, whilst I know not how many Brahmans were busy in kindling the fire round about: to represent to you, I say, all as it ought is not possible for me; I can at present scarce believe it myself, though it be but a few days since I saw it.

'Tis true, that I have seen some of them, which at the sight of the pile and fire, appeared to have some apprehension, and that perhaps would have gone back, but 'tis often too late: those demons the Brahmans, that are there with their great sticks, astonish them, and hearten them up, or even thrust them in; as I have seen it done to a young woman that retreated five or six paces from the pile, and to another that was much disturbed when she saw the fire take hold of her cloths, these executioners thrusting her in with their long poles. Yet I have often seen one, that is still a handsome woman and had saved herself out of their hands, falling into the hands of the Gadous, that sometimes met there in great numbers, when they know that it is some fair and young woman that is to be burnt, and that hath no great kindred, nor much company with her: for the women that are afraid of the pile, and fly away from it knowing that they cannot be received again amongst the Gentiles, nor live with them, because they repute them infamous, after they have committed such a fault, and brought such a disgrace upon their religion; such women, I say, ordinarily a pray of this kind of men, who are also counted infamous in the Indies, and that have nothing to lose. A Mogolian durst not save nor receive any, for fear of bringing himself into great trouble. Some Portugeeze living in sea-ports,

where they were strongest, have sometimes carried away some of them. For my part, I have often been so enraged against those Brahmans, that if durst, I had strangled them. I remember among others, that at Lahor, I saw a very handsome and a very young woman burnt: I believe she was not above twelve years of age. This poor unhappy creature appeared rather dead than alive, when she came near the pile; she shook, and wept bitterly: meantime three or four of these executioners, the Brahmans, together with an old hag that held her under the arm, thrust her on, and made her sit down upon the wood, and she should run away, they tied her legs and hands, and so burnt her alive. I had enough to do to contain myself for indignation; but I was to content myself with detesting this horrid religion, and to say by myself, what the poet once said of such another, upon the occasion of Iphigenia, whom her own father Agamemnon sacrificed to Diana for the interest of the Grecians, amongst whom he was one of the principal leaders.

—*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum!*

These are certainly very barbarous and cruel customs, but that which the Brahmans do in some other places of the Indies is yet more so: for instead of burning those women that will die upon the death of their husbands, they bury them to the ground alive up to the very throat, and then two or three of them fall at once upon them and wring their neck round, and so choak them, covering them quickly with some earth, and then marching over their heads. But let us pass to some other customs of those countries.

Most of the Gentiles burn their dead; but some there are, that do no more than with some straw broil them on a river's side, casting them thereupon from the height of a steep bank into the water; which I have often seen upon the river Ganges.

Some of these Gentiles there are, who, when they perceive a sick person near death, carry him to the side of a river, (at which barbarous action I have been once present) and then first put this feet into the water, and afterwards let him slide down as to his throat, and then, when they think he is now expiring, they sink him quite under water, and there leave him, after they have made a great clamour, and clapping with their hands : and this, say they, to the end that the soul leaving the body may be washed from all the impurities she may have contracted in the body. And this is not only a reason given by the vulgar ; for I have spoken with the most learned of them, who delivered the same with great seriousness. But let us go on to other extravagancies.

Amongst that vast number and great variety of Fakeers, Derviches, or religious Heathens of the Indies, there is abundance of them that have convents, in which there are superiors, and wherein they make certain vows of chastity poverty, and obedience, leading so odd a life, that I doubt whether you can give credit to it. These are commonly called Jaguis, as if you should say, united to God. You shall see many of them sit stark naked or lie days and nights upon ashes, and, commonly enough, under some of these large trees that are on the sides of the Talabs or ponds, or else in those galleries that are about their Deuras or idol-temples. Some of them have their hair hanging down to the middle of their legs, that wreathed into several parcels, as the large main of our barbes, or rather, as the hair of those that have the sickness of Poland, called the plica. Of these I have seen some in divers places, who held one arm and sometimes both, lifted up perpetually above their heads and that had at the end of their fingers wreathed nails, that were longer by measure than half my little finger. Their arms were small and lean, as of heretical persons, because they took not sufficient nourishment in that forced posture,

and they could not let them down to take any thing with them, either meat or drink, because the nerves were retired and the joints were filled and dried up; wherefore also they have young novices, that serve them as holy men with very great respect. There is no Megara in hell so terrible to look on, as those men are, all naked, with their black-skin, long hair, dried arms, and in the posture mentioned, and crooked nails.

I have often met in the field, especially upon the lands of the Rajas, whole squadrons of these Faquires, altogether naked, dreadful to behold. Some held their arms lifted up in the posture mentioned; others had their terrible hair hanging about them, or else they had wreathed them about their head; some had a kind of Hercules's club in their hand; others had dry and stiff tiger-skins over their shoulders. I saw them pass thus quite naked, without any shame, through the midst of a great borough. I admired how men, women, and children could look upon them so indifferently, without being moved no more than if we should see pass some Eremite through our streets; and how the women brought them alms with much devotion, taking them for very holy men, much wiser and better than others.

I have seen, for a long while, a very famous one in Delhi, called Sarmet, who went thus stark naked along the streets, and who at length would rather suffer his neck to be cut off, than to put on any cloaths, what promises or menaces soever Aureng-Zebe might send to him.

I have seen many of them, who out of devotion went on long pilgrimages, not only altogether naked, but charged with iron chains, like those that are put about the legs of elephants. Others, who, out of a particular vow, stood for seven or eight days upright upon their legs, which thereupon swelled as big as their thighs, without sitting or lying down, or without reposing themselves otherwise than by leaning some hours of the night upon a stretched cord; others, who

stood for whole hours upon their hands without wavering, the head down, and the feet upward : and so of many other sorts of postures so constrained, and so difficult, that we have no tumbler able to imitate them ; and all this, it seems upon the account of religion, of which yet there appears not the least shadow in it.

All these so extraordinary things did (to tell you the truth exceedingly surprize me at first ; I knew not what to say or think of it. Sometimes I looked upon them as a remainder or rather as the authors of that ancient and infamous sect of the Cynicks, but only that I found nothing in them, but brutality and ignorance, and that they seemed to me a kind of trees, somewhat moving from one place to another, rather, than rational animals. Another time I considered them as men altogether enthusiastical ; though as I lately said, I could not find any shadow of true piety in all they did. Sometime I thought, that this lazy, idle, and independent life of beggars might have something attractive in it. Sometimes I imagined that the vanity, which creeps in every where, and which is as often found under the patched mantle of Diogenes, as under the comely garment of Plato, there might lurk that spring, which might set agoing so many engines ; and then reflecting withal upon the miserable and austere life they led, I knew not what judgment to make of them.

It is true, that many say, that they do not exercise these ascetic austerities but in the hopes they entertain of becoming Rajas in their re-births, returning again in a more happy life. But, as I have often told them to their discomfiture is it possible for any man to resolve upon such a miserable life from the motive altogether, that is to be no longer, and hath also, in the upshot, but very little has in it, though one should return a Raja, or even a Jesseingue or a Jessomseing who are the two most puissant Rajas, of the Indies ? There must needs, said I,

be something else under it, which you have no mind to discover to us, or you must be arrant fools.

Almost those, I have been speaking of, there are such that are believed to be true saints, illuminated and perfect Jauguis, entirely united to God. These are people that have altogether abandoned the world, and sequestered themselves into some very remote corner or garden, like Eremites, without ever coming to town. If you carry them any meal they receive it; if they do not, it is believed they can live without it, and subsist by the sole favour of God in perpetual fasting, prayer, and profound meditations: for they sink themselves so deep for these raptures, that they spend many hours together in being insensible, and beholding in that time, as they give out, God himself, like a bright ineffable light, with an unexpressible joy and satisfaction, attended with an entire contempt and forsaking of the world: for thus much one of them that pretended he could enter into this rapture when he pleased, and had been often in it, told me; and others that are about them, affirm the thing with so much seriousness, that they seem to believe in earnest, as if there were no imposture in it. God alone knows whether there be any truth in it, and whether in this solitude and fasting the imagination debilitated, may not suffer itself to be carried away into these illusions: or whether they be not of that kind of natural rapture, into which Cardan said he fell when he lifted; and this the rather, because I see, there is used some art in what they do, for asmuch as they prescribe to themselves certain rules by little and little to bind up their senses: for they say, for example, that after they have fasted many days, using nothing but bread and water, it is requisite first to keep themselves alone, retired from all company, directing the eyes steadily towards heaven for a while, when gently casting them down again, and then fixing them both so as to look at one and the same time upon the tip of the nose



equally, and as much on one side as the other (which is troublesome enough) and remaning firm and intent in that posture, until such a light do come. Whatever the matter be, I know, these raptures, and these ways of falling into them, make the great mystery of the Cabala of the Jauguis, Soufys do also. I call it mystery, because they keep it very secret amongst them ; and if it had not been for this Pendet, or Indian docter, to whom Danechmend-kan gave a pension; and who durst hide nothing from him ; and if also Danechmend-kan had not known the mysteries of the Cabala of Soufys, I should not have discovered so much of it. I know besides that as for the extremity of poverty, of fastings, and austerities, that also can do much of it. We must not think (or I am much deceived) that any of our religious friars or Eremites go in this point beyond those men nor generally beyond all the Asiatic monks ; witness the life and fastings of the Armenians, Copthes, Greeks, Nestorians, Jacobites and Maronites. We must rather avow, that we are not novices, when compared with those religious men : But then we must also acknowledge, according to what I have experimented, in respect of those of the Indies, that they can much more easily bear hunger than we can in our colder climates.

There are others very different from those but very strange men likewise ; they are almost perpetually given to selling up and down, they deride all, take care of nothing, men that brag of alchemestic knowledge, who, as the people say, know no less than to make gold and so admirably they would prepare an elixir that grain or two of it taken every morning re-storeth the man to health and so strengthens the stomach, that it feeds greedily and well. This is not at all : When two of these Jauguis, that are eminent, do not agree you stir them up in the point and power of their knowledge of Janguisme, and see them do such tricks out of spite to one another, that I know not whether any

monteblanke could have out done them. For they divine what one thinketh, make the branch of a tree blossom and bear fruit in less than an hour, hatch eggs in their bosom in less than half a quarter of an hour, and bring forth such birds as you demand, which they make fly about the chamber, and many other such prodigies. I mean, if what is said of them be true; for I remember, that one day my Agah sent for one of these famous diviners, and when he was come, agreed with him to give him the next day, 300 rupees, which is about 150 crowns, if he should tell him, as he said he would, his present thought which he was to write before him upon a paper: As also, that I myself made a bargain with the same, to give him 25 rupees, if he should divine mine; but the prophet fails us; as also did, at another time one of those pretended producers of birds, to whom I had also promised 20 rupies. I am still to be understood, if it be true what is said of them. For, me, I am with all my curiosity none of those happy men, that are present at, and see those great feats; and if I should chance to see any of such things as are thought strange, I am always considering and seeking, whether the thing may not be done by some juggle, art, or trick of leger-de-main: and I am sometimes even so unhappy, or, if you will, so fortunate, as to find out the cheat, as I did, that made a cup run, to discover who it was, that had stolen money from my Agah.

Lastly, there are some in many places, that are quite of another way than all those I have discoursed of. Their life and their devotion is more meek and more polished; they go over the streets bare-foot and bare-headed, girt about with a scarf hanging down to their knees, and having a white sheet which passeth under their right arm, and comes out over their left shoulder like a cloak, without other cloaths under it. They are always very clean and neat in all things, and more commonly go two and two gether with.

great modesty, holding in their hand a small earthen trevet, with two handles, very neat. They do not go gossiping from shop to shop, as many of the other Fakires do. They go freely every where into the houses of the Gentiles, where they are welcome, and much made of, they being esteemed a blessing to the house. They are by no means to be accused of any thing; though it be well enough known, what in such visits among the women passeth: But it is the custom, they are in possession of being saints for all that, and any house thinks itself honoured with their visit. But it is not only there so; many other places there be in the world, where things are not so strictly looked to. But that which I find most ridiculous in these people is, that they are impertinent enough to compare themselves with our religious men they meet with in the Indies. I have often taken pleasure to catch them, using much ceremony with them, and giving them great respect; but I soon heard them say to one another: This Franguish knows who we are, he hath been a great while in the Indies, he knows that we are the Padrys of the Indians. A fine comparison, said, I within myself, made by an impertinent and idolatrous rabble of men!

But we stay too long upon these heathen beggars; Let us go on to their books of law and sciences; you may afterwards judge, whether most of what I am going to say of it may be put, as I think it may, in the number of extravagancies.

Do not wonder, if, though I know not the Sanscrit, the language of the learned (of which somewhat may be said hereafter, and which is the same with that of the old Brahmans) who do notwithstanding tell you that they know sciences taken out of books written in that tongue. For you must know, the erudite Danechmendkan, partly upon my solicitation, partly out of his own, took into his service one of the famousest Pendets that was in all the Indians who

at formerly had had a pension of Dera, the eldest son of king Shah-Jehan as his Pandet, besides that he drew to our house all the most learned Brahmans for three years constantly for my conversation. When I was weary or explaining to my Agah those late discoveries of Harvey and Pecquet in anatomy, and of discoursing with him of the philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes, which I translated to him into Persian (for that was my chief employment for five or six years) that Pendet was our refuge, and then he was obliged to discourse, and to relate unto us his stories, which he delivered seriously, and without ever smiling. It is true, that at last we were so much disgusted with tales and uncouth reasonings, that we scarce had patience left to hear them.

They say then, that God, whom they call Achar, that is to say, immoveable or immutable, hath sent them four Books, which they call Beths, a word signifying science, because they pretend that in these books all sciences are comprehended. The first of these books is called Athen-babed, the second Zager-bed, the third Rek-bed, the fourth Sama-bed. Conform to the doctrine of these books, this people ought to be distinguished, as really they are, into four tribes; the first is of Brahmans, men of the law; the second, of Quetterys, men of arms; the third men of Bescue, or traffic, commonly called Banians; and the fourth men of Scydra, that is hardly craftsmen and labourers. And these are discriminated, that those of one tribe cannot marry into another; that is, Brahman cannot marry with a woman Quettery, and so of the rest.

They all agree in one doctrine, which is that of Pythagoras concerning the Metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, and in this, that they must not kill or eat of any animal. However, there are some of the second tribe that may eat of them, provided it be neither cow's nor peacock's flesh, they all having a great veneration for these

two creatures, especially the cow, because they fancy I know not with river lying between this life and that to come, which they are to pass by holding themselves fast on a cow's tail. Possibly their ancient legislators had seen those shepherds of Egypt crossing the Nile, by holding with their left-hand the tail of an ox, and in their right-hand a stick to guide him with; or rather they have imprinted in them this respect for cows, because they draw from them milk and butter, which is a great part of their subsistence; and because also they are so serviceable for the plough, and consequently for the life of man; and that the rather, because it is not so in the Indies as in our parts, for maintaining so great number of cattle as will do: if but half as many of them should be killed in the Indies, as there are in England or France, the country would quickly be destitute of them, and the land remain untilled. The heat there is so violent for eight months of the year, that all is dry, and oxen and cows are often starved, or die of eating trash in the fields like hogs. And it is upon the account of the scarcity of cattle, that in the time of Jehan Guyre the Brahmans obtained an edict, that no cattle should be killed for a certain number of years, and that of late they presented a petition to Aurenge-Zebe, and offered him a considerable sum, if he would make the like prohibition. They remonstrated, that for fifty or sixty years past, much land had remained unploughed, because the oxen and cows were become too scarce and too dear. It may be also, that these should be considered, that cows and ox-flesh in the Indies is not very savoury nor wholesome less it be for a little time in winter, during the cooler season: or lastly, that it be to keep the people off from mutual cruelty, (to which they were too much inclined inclining them, as by a maxim of religion, to exercise humanity to the very lowest of animals, making them believe, that killing or eating an animal, it might happen that they did

kill or eat one of their grandsires; which would be an horrid crime.

According to the doctrine of these Beths, they are obliged to say their prayers at least thrice every day, in the morning, at noon, and at night, with their face turned to the east. They are also bound to wash their whole body thrice, or at least before they eat; and they believe, that it is more meritorious to wash themselves in running water than in any other. And it may be, that the legislators in this point also have had a respect to what is proper and convenient for this country, where nothing is more desirable than washing and bathing. And they find it troublesome enough to observe this law, when they are in cold countries; I have seen some of them that were like to die, because they would there also observe the law of washing their bodies by plunging themselves into rivers, or ponds, when they found any near; or by throwing whole buckets of water over their heads, when they were remote from them. When I told them, upon occasion, that in cold countries, it would not be possible to observe that law of theirs in winter (which was a sign of its being a mere human invention) they gave this pleasant answer: that they pretended not their law was universal; that God had only made it for them, and it was therefore that they could not receive a stranger into their religion; that they thought not our religion was therefore false, but that perhaps it was good for us, and that God might have appointed several differing ways to go to heaven; but they will not bear that our religion should be the general religion for the whole earth; and theirs a fable and pure device.

These same books do teach them, that God having determined to create the world, would not execute it immediately, but made first three perfect beings: the first was *Brahma*, which signifies penetrating into all things; the second *Beschen*, that is, existing in all things; and the

third Mehaudev, that is, great lord. That by the means of Brahma he created the world, by the means of Beschen he preserveth it and by the means of Mehaudev he will destroy it. That it is Brahma, who by the command of God did publish the four Beths. and that therefore he is in some of their churches represented with four heads.

As to those three Beings, I have seen some European missonaries that were of opinion, that these Gentiles had some idea of the Trinity; and said, it was expressly contained in their books, that there are three persons and one only God. For my part, I have made the Pendets sufficiently discourse upon this point; but they declare themselves so poorly, that I could not clearly understand their sense. I have even heard some of them, who said, that these are three creatures very perfect, which they called Deutas, yet without explaining well what they understood by this word Deutas; as our ancient idolaters, never explained what they meant by these words Genius and Numina, which is, I think) the same with Deuta among the Indians. 'Tis true, that I have spoken with others of the most knowing amongst them, who said, that these three Beings were indeed nothing but one and the same Cod, considered three manner of ways, *viz.*, as he is the producer, conservator, and destroyer of things; but they said nothing of three distinct persons in one only Deity.

Moreover, I have seen the reverend father Rao, a German Jesuit and missionary at Agra, who, being well-versed in their Sanscrit, maintained that their books did not only import there was one God in three persons, but that even the second person of their Trinity was incarnated nine times. And that I may not be thought to ascribe to myself the writings of others, I shall relate unto you word for word, what a certain Carmelite of Chiras hath lighted upon which he related when the above-mentioned father Rao passed that way to come back to Rome. The Gentiles

(saith he) do hold, that the second person of the Trinity was incarnated nine times, and that because of diverse necessities of the world, for whom he hath delivered it : but the eighth incarnation is the most notable ; for they hold, that the world, begin enslaved under the power of giants, it was redeemed by the second person, incarnated, and born of a virgin at mid-night, the angels singing in the air, and the heavens pouring down a shower of flowers all that night. This favours much of Christianity, but then there follows a fable again, which is, that this God incarnate killed first of all a giant that flew in the air, and was so big as to obscure the sun, and by his fall to make the earth to shake, and that by his great weight he sunk as deep as hell ; that this God incarnate being wounded in the side, in the first conflict with this giant, fell, but by his fall put his enemies to flight ; after that he had raised himself again, and redeemed the world, he ascended into heaven ; and that by reason of his wound, he is commonly called the Wounded in his Side. In the tenth incarnation, which shall then be, when according to our supputation Antichrist shall come, the world shall be delivered from the slavery of the Mahomedans : but this is only a vulgar tradition, which is not found in their books

They say also, that the third person of the Trinity hath manifested himself to the world ; concerning which they relate, that the daughter of a certain king, being fit to be married, and asked by her father, whom she would marry, answered, that she would not be united but to a divine person ; and that at the same time, the third person of the Trinity appeared to the King in the form of fire ; that, that King forthwith gave notice of it to his daughter, who presently consented to the marriage : that this person of the Trinity, though altogether in a fiery appearance, was called before the King's council, and seeing that the counsellors opposed this marriage, took hold of their beards and burned



them, together with the whole royal palace, and then married the daughter. Ridiculous !

They add, that the first incarnation of the second person, was in the nature of a lion ; the second, in that of a swine, the third in that of a tortoise ; the fourth, in that of a serpent ; the fifth, in that of Bamana, she dwarf, only a foot and a half high ; the sixth, in that of a monster, a man-lion ; the seventh in that of dragoon ; the eighth, as hath been said already ; the ninth, in an ape ; the tenth, in that of a great cavalier.

Concerning this I shall acquaint you, that I doubt not but that the Reverend Father Rao, hath taken all he saith of this matter out of the books of the Gentiles, and that is the main ground of their mythology. I had written many things of it at large in my papers, and had also taken the figures of their gods or idols, which I had seen in their temples, having also got of them the characters of their language Sanskrit ; but finding at my return all those things, or at least the best part of it, printed in the China Illustrata of Father Kircher, who had obtained it at Rome from the same Father Rao ; I shall content myself to have named the book to you. 'Tis true, that the word incarnation, which the reverend father useth, was new to me, having never seen it so expressly used ; I had only heard some Pendets thus explaining the thing, *vis.*, that God had formerly appeared in those figures, when he did all those wonders they relate. Others explained it to me after this manner, to wit, that it was the souls of certain great men such as we call heroes that had passed into these bodies and that these heroes were thus become Deutas, or to speak the phrase of our idolaters, some powerful and considerable divinities, Nurren's, Genio's, Demons, Spirits ; for I see not that this word Deuta can signify any other thing : but this second explication of the Pendets cometh in effect

to the first, for asmuch as most of them believe that our souls are portions of God.

Others there were that gave me a much sublimer explication, saying, that all those incarnations and apparitions, which their books speak of, are not to be understood according to the letter, by mystically, for asmuch as thereby are explained the several attributes of God. Some there were and those of the most learned, acknowledging to me candidly that there was nothing more fabulous than those incarnations, and that they were only the inventions of the legislators, to retain people in some religion : and though this were so, if there were nothing else but this, (which is common to them all) that our souls were portions of the Deity, it were to be exploded in sound philosophy, without making any mysteries in religion of it, seeing that in respect of our souls we should be God, and that in effect it should be ourselves that had imposed upon us a religious worship, metempsychoses, paradise and hell, which would be ridiculous.

I shall here add a few words, to declare that I am not less obliged to Monsieur Henry Lor, and to Monsieur Abraham Roger, than to the reverend fathers Kircher and Roa. I had compiled an hundred things relating to the Gentiles, which I found in the books of those gentlemen, and which would have been great trouble to me to range them as they have done. I shall therefore content myself to say something in general to you of their studies and sciences, not indeed in that good order which possibly you might expect, but just as I have learnt it, and as 'tis probably found in their books ; I mean by fragments, and without coherence.

The town of Benares, which is seated upon the Ganges in a very fine and rich country and place, is the general school, and as it were the Athens of the gentry of the Indies, where the Brachmans and the Religious (those that

addict themselves to study) come together. They have no colleges nor classes ordered as with us; methinks, 'tis omre after the way of the school of the ancient; the masters being dispersed over the town in their houses, and especially in the gardens of the suburbs, where the great merchants do suffer them. Of these masters some have four disciples; others, six or seven; and the most famous, twelve or fifteen at most, who spend ten or a dozen years with them. All this study goeth on very coolly, because most Indians are of a slow and lazy humour, to which the heat and diet of the country contributes much; and because they are not animated to industry as we, by that great emulation, and by the great hopes we have of coming thereby to great preferment. They study leisurely, and without much tormenting themselves, eating their Kichery or mixture of legums, which the rich merchants cause to be dressed for them.

Their first study is of the Sanscrit, which is a language, altogether different from the common Indian, and not known but by the Pendets. And this is that tongue, of which father Kircher hath published the alphabet received from father Roa. It is called Sanscrit, that is, a pure language; and because they believe this to be the tongue in which God, by the means of Brahma, gave them the four Beths. which they esteem sacred books; they call it an holy and divine language. They pretend also, that it is as ancient, as Brahma, whose age they do not reckon but by Lecques, or hundred thousands years. But I would gladly have a warrant for such an antiquity. However, it cannot be denied that 'tis very old, in regard that the books of their religion, which certainly is very ancient, are written in this tongue: and besides that, it hath its authors in philosophy and physick in verses, and some other poems, and many other books, of which I have seen a great hall quite full in Benares.

After they have learned the Sanskrit, (which is very

difficult to them, because they have no grammar worth anything) they commonly apply themselves to read the *Purane*, which is as it were the interpretations and sum of the *Beths*, which are very large, at least if those be they which were shewed me at Benares and besides, they are so very rare, that my Agah could never find them to be sold, what industry soever he used in it. And they keep them very secret, for fear lest the Mahomedans should lay their hands on them, and burn them, as they have already done several times.

After the *Purans*, some fall upon philosophy, wherein certainly they go not far. I have already intimated, that they are of a slow and lazy temper, and are not excited by the hopes to obtain some good place by their study.

Among their philosophers there have been principally six very famous, who make so many different sects which causeth also a difference and emulation among the *Pendets* or doctors; for they know, that such a one is of this sect, another of another; and every one of them pretends his doctrine to be better than that of others, and more conform to the *Beth*. There is indeed another, a seventh sect, called *Baute* whence do proceed twelve other different sects; but this not so common as the others, the votaries of it being hated and despised, as a company of irreligious and atheistical people, nor do they live like the rest.

All these books speak of the first principles of things, but very differently. Some say, that all is composed of little bodies that are indivisible, not by reason of their solidity, hardness and resistance, but smallness; adding divers things which approach to the opinions of Democritus and Epicurus, but with so much confusion that one knows not where to fasten, all seeming like a rope of sand; which yet may be as much, or more the fault of the *Pendets*, which seem to me very ignorant, than of the authors.

Others say, that all is made up of matter and form ; but not one of them explains himself clearly about the matter, and less about the form. Yet so much I have found, that they understand them not at all, as they are wont to be explained in our schools, by educing the form out of the power of the matter ; for they always alledge examples of things artificial, and among them that of a vessel of soft clay, which a potter turns and shapes divers ways.

Others hold, that all is composed of four elements and a nothing ; but they do not all explain themselves concerning mixtion and transmutation. And as for their nothing which comes near to our privation, they admit I know not how many sorts of them, which (I believe) they understand not at all, nor are able to make out to others.

There are also some, that maintain light and darkness to be the first principles, and say a thousand impertinent and confused things upon it, making long-winded discourses, which favour nothing at all of philosophy, but are like the talk of the vulgar.

Others there are that admit privation for the principle, or rather privations, which they distinguished from nothing, and of which they make long enumerations, so useless and little philosophical, that I can scarce imagine them to be in their books, or that their authors could have entertained themselves with such uncouth things.

Lastly, some of them do pretend that all is composed of accidents ; of which also they add, long, and tedious enumerations, and such as savour only some pettifogger, that can amuse the common people.

Touching these principles in general, they all agree that they are eternal ; our production out of nothing not having come (it seems) into their thoughts, as it hath neither to many others of the ancient philosophers ; yet they say, that there is one of them that hath touched something of it.

As to physick, they have many little books, that are rather collections of receipts than any thing else ; the most ancient and chief whereof is in verse. I shall here tell you, that their practice is sufficiently different from ours, and they ground themselves upon these principles ; that one who is sick of a fever, needs no great nourishment : that the main remedy of sicknesses is abstinence : that nothing is worse for a sick body than flesh-broth, nor which corrupts sooner in the stomach of a feverish patient : that no blood is to be let but in great and evident necessity, as when you apprehend some translation into the brain or find some considerable part, as the chest, liver, kidneys, inflamed.

Whether this practice be better than ours, I leave to physicians to decide ; but I see 'tis successful among them. The same practice is not peculiar to the physicians of the Gentiles, but the Mogolian and Mahomedan doctors, that follow Avicen and Averroes, do also very strictly observe it, especially as to meat-broths. 'Tis true that the Mogols are somewhat more prodigal of their blood than the Gentiles ; for in those sicknesses wherein they fear those accidents lately specified, they commonly let blood once or twice ; but these are none of those petty venesections of the new invention of Goa and Paris, but they are of those plentiful ones used by the ancients of 18 or 20 ounces of blood, which often come to a swooning, and frequently choak the disease in the very beginning, as Galen saith, and as I have often experienced.

Concerning anatomy, I may safely say, that the Gentiles, understand nothing at all of it, and they can speak nothing as to that subject but what is impertinent. Nor is it a wonder they are so ignorant in it, since they never open any body of man or beast : they do so much abhor it, that when I opened some living kids and sheep before my Agah, to make him understand the circulation of the blood, and to shew him the Pecquetian vessels, through which the

Chyle at last comes into one of the ventricles of the heart, they trembled for fear, and ran] away. Yet notwithstanding they affirm, that there are five thousand veins in man, neither more nor less as if they had well counted them all.

Touching astronomy, they have their tables, according to which they foresee the eclipses; and though they do not do it with that exactness as our European astronomers, yet they come pretty near. Meantime they discourse of the eclipse of the moon, as they do upon that of the sun, believing that it is the Rah, that black villain, and mischievous Deuta, who at that time seizeth on the moon and blacken her. They hold also, that the moon is an hundred kosses, that is, about fifty thousand leagues above the sun: that she is lucid of herself; and that it is she, from whom we receive a certain vital water, which gathereth and disposeth itself in the brain, descending thence as from a source into all the members for their functions. Besides this, they are of opinion, that the sun and moon, and generally all stars are Deutas; that 'tis night when the sun is behind the Someire, that imaginary mountain, which they place in the midst of the earth, and make I know not how many thousand leagues high, and to which they give the shape of an inverted sugar-loaf; so that it is not day with them, but when the sun gets out from behind this mountain.

In geography they have sped on better. They believe the earth to be flat and trangular, and that it hath seven stories, all differing in beauty, perfection, and inhabitants; each of which is encompassed, they say, by its sea; that of these seas, one is milk, another of sugar, the third of butter, the fourth of wine, and so fourth: so that after one earth, there comes a sea, and after a sea an earth, and so on unto seven, beginning from Someire, which is in the midst of the stories: that the first story, which is at the foot of Someire, hath Deutas for its inhabitants, which are very perfect; and so the rest, still lessening the perfection unto the seventh,

which they say is ours, that is, of men far less perfect than all the Deutas ; and lastly, that this whole mass is sustained upon the heads of divers elephants, which, when they stir, cause an earthquake.

All these strange impertinences, which I have had the patience to relate, have often made me think, that if they be those famous sciences of the ancient Brahmans of the Indies, very many have been deceived in the great opinion that entertained of them. For my part, I can hardly believe it, but that I find the religion of the Indians to be from immemorial times ; that it is written in the language of Sanskrit, which cannot be but very ancient, since its beginning is unknown, and is a dead language, not understood but by the learned ; that all their books are only written in that tongue : all which are as many marks of a very great antiquity. Let us now add a few words about the worship of their idols,

When I descended along the river Ganges, and passed through Benares, that famous school of all the Indian gentility, I went to see the chief of the Pendets, who hath there his ordinary residence, This is a Fakeer, or religious monk, so renowned for his knowledge, that Shah-Jehan, partly for his science, partly to please the Rajas gave him a pension of Rs. 2,000 that is, about a 1,000 crowns. This was a big and proper man, goodly to look on ; who for all his clothes had nothing but a white silken scarf tied about his waist, and hanging down to the mid-leg with another red scarf about his shoulders, like a little cloak. I had often seen him, at Delhi, in this posture before the King in the assembly of all the Omrahs and marching upon the streets, sometimes on foot, sometimes in a palankey. I had also frequently seen, and many times conversed with him, when for a whole year together he constantly came to our conference before my Agah whom he courted, that he might procure him again that pension which Aureng-Zebe (being



come to the crown), had taken from him, that he might appear a great Musulman, In the visit I made him at Benares, he was exceedingly courteous to me, and even gave me a collation in the library of his university, attended with six of the most famous Pendets of the town. When I found myself in so good company, I prayed them all to tell me their sense about the adoration of their idols intimating to them, that I was leaving the Indies extremely scandalized upon that score ; and reproaching them, that their worship was a thing against all reason, and altogether unworthy such scholars and philosophers as they were. Whereupon I received this answer.

"We have indeed" (said they) "in our deuras or temples store of divers statues, as those of Brahma, Mehadev, Genich and Gavani, who are some of the chief and the most perfect Duetas : and we have also many others of less perfection, to whom we pay great honour, prostrating ourselves before them, and presenting them flowers, rice, scented oils, saffron, and such other things, with much ceremony : but we do not believe these statues to be Brahma or Bechen, &c. themselves but only their images and representations, and we do not give them that honour, but upon the account of what they represent. They are in our temples, because 'tis necessary for praying well, to have something before our eyes, that may fix the mind ; and when we pray, it is not the statue we pray to, but he that is represented by it. For the rest, we acknowledge that 'tis God that is absolute, and the only omnipotent Lord and Master."

This is, without adding or subtracting any thing, the resolution they give me. But, to tell you true, this seemed a little too much accommodated to our christianity, in respect of what I had learned of it from several other Pendets.

After this, I put them upon their chronology, where they pretended to show me far, higher antiquities than all ours.

*They will not say, that the world is eternal, but they make it so old, that I almost know not which is best. Its determined duration, say, they, is of four Dgugue. This Dgugue is a certain determined number of years, as amongst us we have a seculum, (an age,) with this difference, that an age of ours contains only a hundred years, but their Dgugue is made up a hundred Lecques, that is a hundred times a hundred thousand years. I do not precisely remember the number total of the years of each Dgugue; but I know very well, that the first, called Sate-Dgugue, is of twenty-five Lecques of years: that the second, which they call Trita, is of above twelve Lecques: the third, called Dauper, of eight Leques, and sixty-four thousand years, if I remember well: and the fourth, called Kale-Dgugue, is of I know not how many Lecques. The three first, say they, and much of the fourth, are elapsed; so that the world shall not last so long as it hath done, because it is to perish at the end of the fourth, all things being then to return to their first principles. I made them compute again and again to have their age of the world aright: but finding that, that perplexed them, and that they agreed not among themselves about the number of the Lecques, I contended myself to see that they make the world exceeding old. But being pressed a little to make out this antiquity, they pay you with nothing but little stories, and at length come to this that they find it so in their Beths, or the books of their law, given them by the hands of Brahma.*

After this I urged them concerning the nature of their Deutas; of which I desired to be particularly instructed; but I received nothing but what was very confused. They said, that there were three sorts of them, good, evil, and indifferent ones, that we neither good nor bad; that some thought they were made fire, others of light; others that they were Biapeck, of which word I could not get a clear explication; only they said, that God was Biapeck, and our

soul was Biapeck, and what is Biapeck is incorruptible, and depends neither from time nor place: that others would have them to be nothing else but portions of the Deity; and lastly, that some there were, that made them certain kinds of divinities severed and dispensed over the world.

I remember, that I also put them upon the nature of the *Lengue-cherrie*, which some of their authors do admit; but I could obtain nothing else of it but what I had long since understood from our *Pendet*, which was, that the seeds of plants and animal are not formed anew, but were contrived in the first production of the world, and dispensed abroad every where, and mixed in all things; and that they are (not only potentially but actually), the very and entire plants and animals, though so small, that their parts cannot be distinguished; but when put into a convenient womb, and there nourished, they extend themselves, and increase, so that the seeds of an apple and pear-tree are a *Lengue-cherrie*, that is, a little entire and perfect apple and bear-tree, having all its essential parts: and so the seeds of a horse, an elephant, and a man, etc. are a *Lengue-cherrie*; a little horse, a little elephant, a little man, in which there wants nothing but the soul and nourishment to make them appear what they are.

For a conclusion, I shall discover to you the mystery of a great Cabala, which in these last years hath made great noise in Hindustan, because certain *Pendets*, or heathenish doctors, had possessed with it the minds of Dara and Sultan-Sujah the two first sons of Shah-Jehan.

You cannot but know the doctrine of many of the ancient philosophers, touching that great soul of the world, which they will have our souls, and those of animals to be portions of. If we did well penetrate into Plato and Aristotle, we might perhaps find that they were of this sentiment. It is in a manner the general doctrine of the heathen *Pendets* of the Indies, and 'tis the same which still

maketh the Cabala of the Soufys, and of the greatest part of the learned men in Persia, and which is found explained in Persian verses, so sublime and emphatical in their Goultschenraz or partarre of mysteries; which is also the very same of Dr. Flud's, whom our great Gassendus hath so learnedly refuted; and that wherein most chemists lose themselves. But these Indian cabalists or Pendets I speak of, drive this impertinence farther than all those philosophers, and pretend that God, or that sovereign being which they call Archar (immutable), hath produced or drawn out of his own substance, not only soul, but also whatever is material and corporeal in the universe; and that this production was not merely made by way of an efficient cause, but by a way resembling a spider that produceth a web, which it draws forth out of its own body, and takes in again when it will. Creation, therefore, say these doctors, is nothing else but an extraction and extension, which God maketh of his own substance, of those webs, he draws from his own bowels; as destruction is nothing else, but a reprisal or taking back again this divine substance, and these divine webs into himself: so that the last day of the world, which they call Maperle or Pralea, when they believe that all shall be destroyed, shall be nothing else, but a general reprisal of all those webs which God hath drawn forth out of himself. There is therefore nothing (so they go on) that is real or effective in all we think we see, hear, smell, taste, or such: all this world is nothing but a kind of dream and a mere illusion, in regard that all this multiplicity and diversity of things that appear to us, is nothing but one and the same thing, which is God himself; as all those several numbers of 10, 20, 100, 1000, etc., are indeed nothing but one and the same unity many times repeated. But if you demand any reason for this phantasy, or any explication of the manner, how this issuing from and reprisal into the substance of God, this extension,

and this variety of things is made ; or how it can be, that God being not corporeal, but Biapeck and incorruptible (as they acknowledge ; should yet be divisible into so many portions of bodies and souls ; they never make any other return, but of some pretty comparisons, as, that God is like an immense ocean. in which if many vials full of water should be floating, they would, wherever they should move, be found always in the same ocean, in the same water, and that coming to break, their water would at the same time be united with their whole, and with that great ocean of which they were portions. Or they will tell you, that it is with God as with light, which is the same through the whole universe, and which yet appears an hundred different ways, according to the diversity of the objects it falls upon, or according to the several colours, and shapes of glasses through which it shineth. They will pay you, I say, only with such kind of similitudes, that bear no proportion at all with God, and are good for nothing, but to cast dust into the eyes of the ignorant people : and you must not expect any solid answer from them, if you would tell them, that those vials would indeed be in a like water, but not in same ; and that it is indeed a like light over all the world, but not the same : or if you should make any other objections against them, they return always to the same comparisons, pretty expressions, or as the Soufys, to the fine verses of their Goultchen-raz.

Now Sir, what think you ? Had I not reason, from this great heap of extravagancies, I mean, from that panick and childish terror struck into those Indians by eclipses ; from that superstitious compassion for the sun to deliver it from that black demon, accompanied with those apish prayers, washings, plungings and alms cast into the river ; from that mad and infernal obstinacy of the women, burning themselves with the corps of their husbands ; from those several madneses of the Fakeers ; and lastly, from all that fabulous

stuff of the Bets and other Indian books: had I not reason, I say, to premise in the title of this letter, (which is but a poor advantage to me from so long travelling)—that there are no opinions so ridiculous or extravagant, of which the mind of man is not capable.

To conclude I have not more to add than to desire you to do me the favour and deliver with your own hands the letter to Monsieur Chapelle. It is he that first procured me that familiar acquaintance I had with Monsieur Gassendi, your intimate and illustrious friend, that hath been so advantageous to me; which maketh me acknowledge my great obligations to him, and exceedingly engageth me to love him, and to remember him in what part of the world soever I am: as I am no less bound to honour you as long as I live, as well for the peculiar affection you have always expressed to me, as for the good counsel you have assisted me with in your many letters during the whole course of my voyages, and for that favour of sending to me with so much generosity (without interest or money) unto the end of the world, whither me curiosity had carried me a chest of books, when those, of whom I demanded them for money, ordered by me to be paid at Marseillies, and who should have honestly sent them me, abandoned me there, and laughed at all my letters, looking upon me as a lost man, whom they should never see again.

A RELATION  
OF  
A VOYAGE MADE IN THE YEAR 1664.

When the Great Mogul, Aureng-Zebe, went with his army from Delhi, the capital of Hindustan, to Lahore; from Lahore to Bember, and from thence to the Kingdom of Kashmere, commonly called by the Mogul, The Paradise of the Indies, etc.

By way of several Letters written by the Author  
to Friends.

*Letter 1.—To Mousieur de Merveilles.—Written at Delhi, December 1664. Aureng-Zebe being ready to March.—Containing the Occasion and Cause of this Voyage of Aureng-Zebe; together with an Account of the State and Posture of his Army, and the Equipage and ordinary Provisions of the chief of his Cavalry; and some curious Particulars observable in the Voyage of the Indies.*

SIR,

SINCE that Aureng-Zebe began to find himself in better health, it hath been constantly reported, that he would make a voyage to Lahore, and go from thence to Kashmere, to change the air, and to be out of the way of the approaching summer heats for fear of a relapse: that the more intelligent sort of men would hardly be persuaded, that as long as he kept his father Shah-Jehan prisoner in the fort of Agra, he would think it safe to be at such a distance. Yet notwithstanding we have found, that reason of state hath given place to that of health, or rather to the intrigues

of Rauchenara-Begum, who was wild to breathe a more free air than that of the seraglio, and to have her turn in shewing herself to a gallant and magnificent army, as her sister Begum Saheb had formerly done during the reign of Shah-Jehan.

He departed then the 6th of December, about three o'clock in the afternoon ; a day and hour that must needs be fortunate for a great voyage, if we may give credit to the gentlemen astrologers, who have so decreed it. And he arrived at Shah-limar, his house of pleasure, distant about two leagues from hence, where he spent fix whole days, thereby to give to all sufficient time to make necessary preparations for a voyage that would take up a year and an half. We have this day news, that he is gone to encamp on the way of Lahor ; and that, when he hath stayed there two days he intends to continue his march without any further expectation. He has with him not only the thirty-five thousand horse, or thereabout, and thousand foot, but also both his artillery of the stirrup, because it is inseparable from the person of the King, whereas the heavy sometimes leaveth him to keep the high and well beaten roads.

The great artillery is made up of seventy pieces of cannon, most of them cast ; of which some are so ponderous that they need twenty yoke of oxen to draw them ; and found some of them require elephants to help all those oxen, by thrusting and drawing the wheels of the waggons with their trunks and heads, when they stick in any deep way, or are to pass some steep mountain. That of the stirrup is composed of fifty or sixty small field pieces of brass each carried upon a little, pretty and painted chariot (as hath been already said in another place beautified with many little red streamers, and drawn by two very handsome horses, driven by the gunner himself, together with a third horse which the gunner's assistant leads for a relief. All these chariots go always a great pace, that they



may be soon enough in order before the tent of the King, and discharge all at once at the time of his entry to give the army notice.

All these great preparations give us cause to apprehend, that instead of going to Kachemire, we be not led to besiege that important city of Kandhar, which is the frontier to Persia, Hindustan, and Usbeck, and the capital of an excellent country, yielding a very great revenue, and which for this very reason hath been ever the bone of contention between the Persians and Indians. Whatever it be, there is now a necessity to dispatch at Dehli, any bussiness whatsoever notwithstanding; and I should find myself much cast behind the army, if I should tarry any longer: besides, I know that my Navab, or Agah, Danechmend-kan, stays for me abroad with impatience. He can no more be without philosophizing in the afternoon upon the books of Gassendi and Descartes, upon the globe and the sphere or upon anatomy, than he can be without bestowing the whole morning upon the weighty matters of the kingdom, in the quality of secretary of state for foreign affairs, and of great master of the cavalry, I shall depart this night, after I have given the last order for all my business, and provided all necessaries for my voyage, as all the principal persons of the cavalry do; that is, two good Tartarian horses, whereto I am obliged by reason of the one hundred and fifty crown of pay, which I have by the month; a camel of Persia, and a groom; a cook, and another servant which must be had ordinarily to march in these countries before the horse, and to carry a flaggon with water in his hand. I also have provided the ordinary utensils; such as are a tent of a middle size, and a proportionate piece of foot tapistry, and a little bed with girdles, made up with four strong and light canes, and a pillow for the bed; two coverlets, where of one folded up four-fold serveth for a matrass; a round table cloth of leather to eat upon; some napkins of dyed cloth, and three

small sacks for plate which are put up in a greater sack, and and this sack into a very great and strong sack made of girdles, in which are put all the provisions, together with the linen of the master and servant. I have also made provision of exlent rice for five or six days, for fear I should not always find so good ; of some sweet biscuit, with sugar and anis ; of a linen sleeve with its little iron hook, to let, by the means thereof, run out, and to keep curdled milk ; and of store of lemons with sugar to make lemonade ; such milk and lemonade being the two great and sovereign refreshments of the Indies : all which, as I said, is put into the last-named sack, which is so large and heavy, that three or four men have pains enough to lift it up ; though two men do first fold and turn one side upon the other when it is full, and though the camel be made to stoop very nigh it, and there need no more than to turn one of the sides of that sack upon the camel. All this equipage and provision is absolutely necessary in such voyages as these. We must not look for such good lodgings and accommodations as we have in our country. We must resolve to encamp and live after the Arabian and Tartarian mode, without expecting any other inns than tents. Nor must we think to plunder the country-man ; all the lands of the kingdom being in propriety to the King : we are well to consider, that we must be sober and prudent, and that to ruin the country-man were to ruin the demesne of the King. That which much comforts me in this march is, that we go northward, and depart in the beginning of the winter, after the rains ; which is the right season for travelling in the Indies, because it raineth not, and we are not so much incommoded by heat and dust. Besides that, I find myself out of danger of eating the bread of Bazar, or of the market, which ordinarily is ill-baked, full of sand and dust ; nor obliged to drink of those naughty waters, which being all turbid, and full of nastiness of so many people and beasts that fetch thence, and enter into them,

do cause such fevers, which are very hard to cure, and which breed also certain very dangerous worms in the legs. They at first cause a great inflammation, accompanied with a fever and ordinarily come forth a little after the voyage, although there have been some, that have stayed a whole year and more before they appeared. They are commonly of the bigness and length of a small vial-siring, so that one would sooner take them for some nerve than for a worm; and they must be drawn out little by little, from day to day, gently winding them about a little twig of the bigness of a needle, for fear of breaking them. This I say comforteth me not a little, that I find myself exempt from these inconveniences, my Navab having vouchsafed me a very particular favour; which is, that he hath appointed to give me every day a new loaf of his house, and a souray of the water of Ganges, with which he hath laden several camels of his train, as the whole court doth. Souray is that tin flaggon full of water which the servant that marcheth on foot before the gentleman on horse-back, carrieth in his hand, wrapt up in a sleeve of red cloth. Ordinarily it holdeth but one pint; but I had some of them expressly made, that hold two. We shall see whether this cunning will succeed. The water cooleth very well in this flaggon, provided that care be had always to keep the sleeve moist, and that the servant that holds it in his hand, do march and stir in the air, or else that it be held towards the wind; as is commonly done upon three pretty little sticks, crossing one another, that they may not touch the earth: for the moistness of the linnen, the agitation of the air or wind, are absolutely necessary to keep the water fresh; as if this moistness or rather the water imbibed by the sleeve, did keep out the little igneous bodies or spirits that are in the air, at the same time when it giveth entrance to the nitrous or other parts, which hinder the motion in the water, and cause coolness; in the same manner as glass keeps out

water, and giveth passage to the light, or by a reason of the particular texture and disposition of the parts of the glass, and the diversity there must be between the particles of light and those of water. We do not use this tin-flaggon for keeping our water cool, but in the field; when we are at home, we have jars of a certain porous earth in which it is much better cooled, provided it be exposed to the wind, and moistened with a linnen cloth, as the flaggon; or else use is made of salt-petre, as all persons of quality do, whether in towns or in the army. They put water, or any other liquor, to be cooled, in a round and long-necked tin flaggon, such as are the English bottles, and for the space of half a quarter of an hour this flaggon is stirred in water, into which hath been cast three or four handfuls of salt-petre; this maketh the water very cold, neither is it unwholesome, as I did apprehend; but only that sometimes it causeth grippings at first, when one is not accustomed to it.

But to what purpose, to play so much the philosopher, when we should think to depart, and to endure the sun, which at all seasons is commodious in the Indies, and to swallow the dust, which is never wanting in the army; to put up, to load, to unload every day our baggage, to help the servants to fasten sticks, to draw cords, to put up tents, and to take them down again, to march in the day, and in the night to devour cold and heat, and, in a word, to turn Arabians for a year and an half, during which time we are to be in the field. Adieu; I shall not fail to acquit myself of my promise, and from time to time to inform you of our adventures: and besides, since the army for this time will make but small journies in its march, and pass on with all that pomp and magnificence which the Kings of Hindustan do affect, I shall endeavour to observe the most considerable things, that I may impart them to you, as soon as we shall arrive at Lahore.

*Letter II.—Containing the Number and Magnificence, the Order and the Disposition of the Tents of the Great Mogul in the Field.—The Number of Elephants, Camels, Mules, and Porters, necessary to carry them.—The Disposition of the Bazars or royal Markets.—That of the particular Quarters of the Omrahs, or Lords, and of the rest of the Army.—The Extent of the whole Army when encamped.—The Confusion there met with; and how it may be avoided.—The Order of preventing Robberies.—The different Manners of the March of the King, the Princesses and the rest of the Seraglio.—The Danger there is in being too near the Women.—The several Ways of the royal Huntings, and how the King hunts with his whole Army.—The Abundance of People there is in the Army, and the Method of making them all subsist.*

SIR,

THIS indeed is called marching with a gravity, and as we speak here, *a la Mogul*, it is no more but fifteen or sixteen days' journey from Delhi to Lahore, which make little more than six score leagues; and yet we have spent almost two months on this way. 'Tis true, the king with the best part of the army went somewhat aside from the high way the better to enjoy the divertisements of hunting and for the conveniency of the water of Gemna, which we went to look for on the right hand, and which we leisurely followed long enough in our hunting, crossing fields of all grass, full of all sorts of game, where the horsemen could scarcely been seen. At present, whilst we are at rest, I am going to make good what I have promised you in the title of this letter; hoping shortly to make you come to Kashmere, and to show you one of the best countries in the world.

When the King is in the field he hath usually two camps, I mean two bodies of tents separated, to the end that when

he breaketh up and leaveth one, the other may have passed before by a day, and be found ready when he arriveth at the place designed to encamp it : and 'tis therefore, that they are called *Pieche-kanes*, as if you should say, houses going before. These two *Pieche-kanes* are almost alike, and there are requisite above threescore elephants, more than two hundred camels, above an hundred mules, and as many more porters to carry one of them. The elephants carry the most bulky things, such as are the great tents, and their great pillars, which being too long and too heavy, are taken down in three pieces. The camels carry the lesser tents : the mules, the baggage and kitchins. And to the porters are given all the little moveables, and such as are delicate and fine, that might easily be broken ; as porcelain, which the King usually employeth at table ; those painted and gilded beds, and those rich Karguais, which I shall speak of hereafter.

One of these two *Pieche-kanes*, or bodies of tents, is no sooner arrived at the place designed for encamping, but the great marshal, that orders the lodgings, chooseth some fair place for the King's quarters ; yet with regard, asmuch as is possible, to the symmetry and order that is to be observed for the whole army ; and he marketh out a square, of which each side is above three hundred ordinary paces long. A hundred pikemen presently clear and level this place, making square planets to raise the tents upon, and surrounding all this great square with *Kanates* or skreens seven or eight foot high, which they fasten with cords tied to sticks, and with perches fixt in the ground, by couples, from ten to ten paces, one without, and the other within, inclining the one upon the other. These *Kanates* are made of a strong cloth lined with stained linen. In the middle of one of the sides of this square is the entry or royal gate, great and magnificent, and the Indian stuff which 'tis made of, as also those stuffs, of which the whole side of the

square of the face is lined without, are far better and richer than the others.

The first and the greatest of the tents, that is reared in this inclosure, is called Amkas, because it is the place where the King and all the lords in the army do assemble about nine o'clock in the morning, when the Mokam, that is, the usual public meeting is held. For the kings of Hindustan, although they are in a march, do not dispense but very rarely with this almost inviolable custom, which is passed into a kind of duty and law, *viz.*, to appear twice a day in the assembly, there to give order for state affairs, and to administer justice.

The second, which is little less than the first, and a little farther advanced into the inclosure, is called, Gosl-kane, that is to say, a place to wash in : and here it is, where all the lords every night meet, and where they come to salute and do obeisance to the King, as ordinarily they do when they are in the metropolis. This assembly, in the evening, is very inconvenient to the Omrahs ; but it is a thing that looks great and stately, to see afar off, in an obscure night, in the midst of a campaign, cross all the tents of an army, long files of torches lighting these Omrahs to the King's quarters, and attending them back again to their tents. 'Tis true, that these lights are not of wax as ours, but they last very long : they are only an iron put about a stick, at the end of which are wound rags of old linen from time to time, which is moistened with oil, held by the link-men in their hands in a brass or latten-flaggon with a long and straight neck.

The third tent, which is not much less than the two first, and is yet farther advanced into the inclosure, is called kalvetkane, a retired or the privy council-place, because none but the first officers of the kingdom enter into it ; and 'tis there where the greatest and the most important affairs are transacted,

Yet farther into the square are the particular tents of the king, encompassed with small kanates or screens, of the height of a man, and lined with strained Indian stuff, of that elegant workmanship of Maslipatam, which do represent a hundred sorts of different flowers, and some of them lined with flowered satin, with large silk fringes.

The tents joining to the King's are those of the Begum or Princesses, and the other great ladies and the officers of the seraglio, which are likewise encompassed, as those of the King, with rich kanates; and amidst all these tents are placed those of the lower she-officers, and other serving-women, always, upon the matter, in the same order, according to their office.

The Amkhas, and the five or six principal tents are raised high, that they may be seen at a good distance, and the better fence of the heat. Without it is nothing but a coarse and strong red cloth, yet beautified and striped with certain large stripes cut variously and advantageously to the eye, but within it is lined with those fine Indian flowered stuffs, of the same work of Maslipatam; and this work is raised and enriched with silk, gold and silver embroideries having great fringes, or with some fine flowered satin. The pillars supporting these tents, are painted and gilt: one marcheth on nothing but rich tapestry, having matrasses of cotton under them four or five inches thick, and round about these tapestries there are great square rails richly covered to lean upon.

In each of the two great tents where the assembly is kept, there is raised a theatre richly adorned, where the King giveth audience under a great canopy of velvet, or purfled with gold. In the other tents are found the like canopies, and there you may see also set up certain karguais; that is, fine cabinets, whose little doors are shut with silver-locks. To conceive what they are, you may represent to you two small squares of our screens, set upon one another,



and neatly round about fastened to one another with a silken string; yet so, that the extremities of the sides of the uppermost come to incline upon one another, so as to make a kind of a little tabernacle with this difference from our screens, that all the sides of these are of very thin and slight fir boards, painted and gilt without, and enriched round about with gold and silk fringes, and lined within with scarlet, or flowered satin, or purpled with gold.

And this is very near what I can tell you of what is contained within the great square.

What concerns the particulars that are without the square, there are first two pretty tents on both the two sides of the great entry or royal gate, where are found two choice horses saddled, and richly harnessed, and altogether ready to be mounted upon occasion, or rather for state and magnificence.

On the two sides of the same gate are placed in order those fifty or threescore small field-pieces, that make up the artillery of the stirrup above-mentioned, and which discharge altogether, to salute the King entering into his tent, and to give notice thereof to the whole army.

Before the gate there is always left void, as much as may be, a great place, at the end of which there is a great tent, called Nagar-kane, because that is the place of the timbals and trumpets.

Near this tent there is another great one, which is called Tchauky-kane, because it is the place where the Omrahs keep guard, every one in his turn, once a week twenty-four hours together; yet notwithstanding most of the Omrahs on the day of their guard, cause close by, to be reared one of their own tents to be the more at liberty, and to have elbow-room.

Round about the three other sides of the great square are set up all the tents of the officers, which are always found in the same order and disposition, unless it be that

the place permit it not : they have all their peculiar names ; but as they are heard to pronounce, and I pretend not to teach you the language of the country, it will be sufficient to tell you, that there is a particular one for the arms of the King, another for the rich harnesses of horses, another for vests purfied with gold, which are the ordinary presents bestowed by the King. Besides, there are four more, near one another ; the first of which is designed for keeping fruit ; the second for comfits ; the third for Ganges water, and the saltpetre to cool it, and the fourth for the betele, which is that leaf whereof I have spoken elsewhere, which is offered to friends as coffee is in Turkey, and chewed to make ruddy lips, and a sweet breath. Next to these, there are fifteen or sixteen others that serve for kitchens and what belongs to them. Amongst all these tents are those of a great number of officers and eunuchs. Lastly, there are four or five long ones for led horses, and some others for the best elephants and all those that are for hunting : for there must needs be a retreat for all that great number of birds of prey, that are always carried for game and magnificence ; and so there must be for those many dogs, and those leopards serving to take wild goats ; for those nyлгаus, or grey oxen ; which I take for elcks ; for those lions and rhinoceros's that are led for greatness ; for those great buffaloes of Bengal fighting with lions ; and lastly, for those tamed wild goats, they call gazelles, that are made to sport before the King.

This vast number of tents, now spoken of, together with those that are within the great square, make up the King's quarter, which is always in the middle, and as it were in the centre of the army, except the place do not allow it. It will easily be thence concluded, that this quarter of the King must needs be something great and royal, and afforded a very fine prospect, if one behold from some high place this great body of red tents in the midst of the army

encamped in a fair and even campaign, where may be fully seen all that order and disposition that is to be observed in the whole.

After that the great marshal of the camp hath chosen a place fit for the King's quarter, and hath made the Am-kas to be set up highest of all the tents, and by which he is to take his measure for the ordering and disposing the rest of the army accordingly; he then marketh out the royal bazars or markets, whence the whole army is furnished with necessaries, drawing the first and chief of all, like a great street running straight, and a great free way traversing the whole army, now on the right-hand, and by and by on the left of the Am-kas and the King's quarter, and always in the straightest line that may be towards the encamping of the next day. All the royal bazars, that are neither so long nor so broad, commonly cross this first, some on this others on the other side of the King's quarter; and all these bazars are discerned by very high canes like great perches, which are fixed in the ground from three hundred to three hundred paces, or there about, with red standards, and cow's tails of the great Tibet fastened on the top of these canes like perukes.

The same marshal designs, next, the place of the Omrahs: so as they may always keep the same order, and be ever as near as may be the King's quarter; some on the right others on the left-hand, some on this side of him, others beyond him; so that none of them may change the place that hath been once appointed for him, or that himself hath desired in the beginning of the voyage.

The quarters of the Omrahs and Rajas, as to their particular order and disposition, are to be imagined in a manner like that of the King: for commonly they have two peichekanes with a square of canates, which encloseth their principal tent and those of their women; and round about those are put up the tents of their officers and cavaliers,

with a peculiar bazar, which is a street of small tents for lower sort of people that follow the army, and furnisheth the camp with forage, grain, rice, butter, and the other things that are most necessary, whereby they are so accommodated, that they need not always go to the royal bazars, where generally all things are to be found as in the capital city. Each bazar is marked at the two ends by two canes planted in the ground, which are as tall as those of the royal bazars, that so at a good distance, the particular standards fastened to them may be discovered, and the several quarters distinguished from one another.

The great Omrahs and Rajahs affect to have their tents very high. But they must beware lest they be too high, because it may happen, that the King, passing by, might perceive it, and command them to be thrown down; of which we have seen an example in this last march. Neither must they be altogether red from without, since those of the King alone are to be so. Lastly, out of respect, they must all look towards the Am-kas or the quarter of the King.

The residue of the space between the King's quarter, and those of the Omrahs and the Bazars, is taken up by the tents of the Manseb-dars or little Omrahs, and of that infinite number of great and small merchants that follow the army, of all those that belong to the law; and lastly, of all such as serve both the artilleries; which maketh indeed a prodigious number of tents, and requireth a very great extent of ground. Yet it is not all true what is said of either of them. And I believe, that when the whole army is in a fair and even campaign, where it may encamp with ease, and that, following the ordinary plot, it comes at length to be lodged, as near as may be, in a round, (as we have often seen it does upon this road, the compass of it will not be above two leagues, or two leagues and an half; and with all this there will yet be left here and there several void places;

but then the great artillery, which taketh up a great tract of ground, doth very often a day or two go before.

Nor is all true, what is said of the strange confusion, which commonly strikes an astonishment into all new comers. For a little acquaintance with the method of the army, and some heeding of the order observed in the camp, will soon enable one to avoid all embarrassment, and to go to and fro about his business, and find his quarter again; forasmuch as every one regulateth himself by the King's quarter, and the particular tents and standards of the Omrahs that may be seen afar off, and by the standards and perukes of royal Bazars, which may also be seen at a great distance.

Yet for all these marks, it will sometimes fall out, that one shall be extremely perplexed, and even in the day time, but especially in the morning, when a world of people do arrive, and every one of those is busy and seeks to lodge himself: and that not only, because there is often raised so great a dust, that the King's quarter, the standards of the Bazars and the Omrahs, which might serve for guides, cannot be discovered: but because a man finds himself between tents that are putting up, and between cords, which the lesser Omrahs, that have no Peiche-kane, and the Mansebdars stretch out to mark their lodgings, and to hinder that no way may be made nigh them, or that no unknown person may come to lodge near their tents, where often they have their women: if in this case you mean to get by on one side, you will find the ways obstructed by those stretched out cords, which a troop of mean serving men, standing there with big cudgels, will not suffer to be lowered, to suffer the baggage to pass: if you will turn back, you 'll find the ways shut since you passed. And here it is, where you must cry out, storm, in treat, make as if you would strike, and yet well beware of doing so leaving the men, as well as you can, to quarrel against one

another, and afterwards to accord them for fear of some mischief; and in short, to put yourself into all imaginable postures to get away thence, and to make your camels pass; but the great trouble is, when a man is obliged to go in an evening to a place somewhat remote, because that those offensive smokes of the fire of green wood, of cow-shares, of camel-dung, which is the common people then make in their kitchens, and do raise a mist (especially when there is no wind) so thick, that you can see nothing at all. I have been three or four times surprized with it, so as not to know what to do. Well might I ask the way; I knew not whither I went, and I did nothing but turn. Once among other times, I was constrained to stay till this mist was past, and the moon risen. And another time I was forced to get to the Aguacy-die to lie down at the foot thereof, and there to pass all the night as well as I could, having my servant and horse by me. This Aguacy-die is like a tall mast, but very slender, which can be taken down in three pieces, and 'tis planted towards the King's quarter, near that tent which is called Nagar-kane: in the evening is drawn up to the top of it a lantern with a light burning in it all night long, which is very commodious, as being seen a great way off; and thither it is that people gone astray do retire, and from thence to get again to the Bazars, and to ask the way, or thereto pass the rest of the night: for nobody hinders one from doing so, and a man may be there in safety from robbers. It is called Aguacy-die, as if you should say, light of heaven, in regard that from afar off it appears like a star.

For the prevention of robberies, each Omrahs causeth a guard to be kept all the night long, in his particular camp, of such men that perpetually go the round, and cry Kaberdar, have a care. Besides, there are round about the army set guards, at five hundred common paces from one another, that keep a fire, and cry also, Kaberdar. And over and

above all these, the Cotoual, who is, as it were, the great provost, sends out troops of guards every way, that pass through all the Bazars, crying out and trumpeting all night long. Yet for all this, some robberies there are now and then committed; and 'tis necessary always to be upon one's guard to go to sleep betimes, that so you may be awake the rest of the night, and not to trust your servants too much to keep guard for you.

But let us now see, how many different ways the great Mogol is carried in the field.

Ordinarily he causeth himself to be carried on men's shoulders, in a kind of sedan or litter, upon which is a Tact-ravan, that is, a field-throne, on which he is seated; and this is like a magnificent tabernacle, with pillars, painted and gilded, which may be shut with glass, when 'tis ill weather; the four brauches of the litter are covered with scarlet or purpled gold, with great gold and silk fringes; and at each branch there are two robust and well clothed porters, that change by turns with as many more that follow.

Sometimes, also, he goeth on horse-back, especially when 'tis a fair day for hunting. At other times he rideth on an elephant, in a Mik-dember, or Hauze; and this is the most splendid appearance; for the elephant is decked with a very rich and magnificent harness; the Mik-dember, being a little square house or turret of wood, is always painted and gilded; and the Hauze, which is an oval seat having a canopy with pillars over it, is so likewise.

In these different marches he is always accompanied with a great number of Omrahs and Rajas, following him close and thick on horse back, without any great order: and all those that are in the army are obliged to be at the Am-kas at break of day, unless he does exempt them from it, upon account either of their peculiar office, or the great age. This march is very inconvenient to them, especially on limiting days; for they must endure the sun and dust

as the simple soldiers, and that sometimes until three of the clock in the afternoon; whereas, when they do not attend the King, they go at ease in their Palkeys, close covered, if they please, free from the sun and dust; sleeping in them couched all along as in a bed, and so coming in good time to their tent, which expects them with a ready dinner, their kitchen being gone the night before, after supper. About the Omrahs, and amongst them, there is always a good number of horsemen well mounted, called Gourze-berdars, because they carry a kind of silver mace of arms. There are also many of them about the right and left wings, that precede the person of the King, together with store of foot-men. These Gourze-berdars are choice men, of a good mein and a fair stature, appointed to carry orders, and having all of them great sticks in their hands, whereby they put people aside at a good distance, and hinder that no body march before the King to incommode him.

After the Rajah marcheth a train mixed of a great number of timbals and trumpets. I have already said in another place, that this train consists of nothing but of figures of silver representing strange animals, hands, scales, fishes, and other mysterious things, that are carried at the end of great silver sticks.

At last, a great troop of Mansebdars, or little Omrahs well mounted, and furnished with swords, arrows and quivers, follow after all the former: and this body is much more numerous than that of the Omrahs, because, besides that all those that are of the guard dare not fail to be at break of day, as the Omrahs, at the gate of the King's tent to accompany him, there are also many that come amongst them to make their court, and to become known there.

The princesses, and the great ladies of the seraglio, are also carried in sundry fashions; some are carried, like the King, on men's shoulders, in a Tchaudoble, which is a kind



of Tact-ravan, painted, gilded, and covered with great and costly net-work of silk of divers colours, enriched with embroidery, fringe and thick pendant tufts. Others are carried in very handsome Palekys closed, that are likewise painted and gilded, and covered with that rich silken net-work. Some are carried in large litters by two strong camels, or by two small elephants, instead of mules : and in this manner I have sometimes seen carried Rauchenara-Begnm ; when I also observed, that in the fore-part of her litter, being upon, there was a little she-slave, that with a peacock's tail kept off from her the flies and dust. Lastly, others are carried upon elephants richly harnessed, and covered with embroidered deckings, and great silver bells, where these ladies sit, raised, as it were, into the middle region of the air, four and four in Mik-dembers, latticed, which always are covered with silken net-work, and are no less splendid and stately than Tchaudoules and Tact-ravans.

I cannot forbear relating here, that in this voyage I took a particular pleasure in beholding and considering this pompous march of the seraglio. And certainly nothing more stately can be imagined, than to see Rauchenara-Begum march first, mounted upon a lusty elephant of Pegu, in a Mik-dember, all shining of gold and azure, attended by five or six other elephants with their Mik-dembers, almost as splendid as hers, filled with the principal she-officers of her house ; some of the most considerable eunuchs, richly adorned, and advantageously mounted, riding on her side each with a cane in his hand ; a troupe of Tartarian and Kashemirian maids of honour about her, oddly and fantastically dressed, and riding on very pretty hackney-horses ; and lastly, many other eunuchs on horseback accompanied with store of pages and lackeye, with great sticks in their hands, to make way a far off. After this Rauchenara-Begnm, I saw pass one of the principal ladies of the court, mounted and attended in proportion : and after this, a third

in the fashion ; and then another, and then another, and so on to fifteen or sixteen, all (more or less bravely mounted and accompanied according to their quality, pay, and office. Indeed this long file of elephants, to the number of fifty, or more, thus gravely marching with paces, as it were, counted, and withal this gallant train and equipage, does represent something that is great and royal ; and if I had beheld this pomp with a kind of philosophical indifference, I know not whether I should not have suffered myself to be carried away to these extravagant sentiments of most of the Indian poets, who will have it, that all these elephants carry as many hidden goddesses. 'Tis true, one can hardly see them, and they are almost inaccessible by men ; it would be a great misfortune to any poor cavalier whosoever, to be found in the field too near them in the march ; all those eunuchs, and all the crew of servants are to the highest degree insolent, and desire nothing more than such a pretext and occasion to fall upon a man, and give him some bastinadoes. I remember I was once thus unfortunately surprized, and certainly I had been very ill used, as well as many other cavaliers. if at length I had not resolved to make my way out by my sword, rather than suffer myself to be thus maimed, as they began to order the matter ; and if by good luck I had not been provided with a good horse, that carried me vigorously out of the press, when I put him on through a torrent of people, that was to be repassed. And it is grown in a manner a common proverb of these armies, that, above all, one must beware of three things : first, not to let himself to be engaged amongst the troops of the chosen led horse, they never failing to strike : secondly, not to come into the places of hunting : thirdly, not to approach too near the women of the women of the seraglio. Yet notwithstanding, by what I hear, it is much less dangerous here than in Persia ; for there 'tis death to be found in the field in sight of the eunuchs that attend them,

though you were half a league distant from them. It is required, that as many men as there are in the villages and boroughs, where they pass, do all abandon them, and retire afar off.

As to the hunting of the King, I knew not first how to imagine what is commonly said, which is, that the great Mogul goes to hunt with a hundred thousand men : but now I see, it may very well be said, that he goes to hunt with above two hundred-thousand ; nor is it a thing hard to comprehend. In the neighbouring places to Agra and Delhi, along the river Gemna as far as to the mountains, and even on both sides of the high way to Lahore, there is abundance of untilled lands, some of copse-wood, and some of grass above a man's height : in all these places there are great numbers of guards, incessantly roving up and down and hindering all other people from hunting, except partridges, quails, and hares, which the Indians know to take with nets : so that every where in those places there is very great store of all kind of game. This being so, the hunting guards, when they know that the King is in the field, and near their quarters, give notice to the great hunting master, of the quality of the game, and of the place where most of it is ; then the guards do line all the avenues of that quarter, and that sometimes for above four or five leagues of ground, that so the whole army may pass by, either this or that way, and the King being in his march may at the same time enter into it with as many Omrahs hunters and other persons as he shall please, and there hunt at his ease, now in one manner and then in another, according to the difference of the game. And now behold first, how he hunted the Gazelles or wild fawns with tamed Leopards.

I think, I have elsewhere told you, that in the Indies there is store of Gazelles, that are in a manner shaped as our hinds or fawns ; that these Gazelles commonly go in

several troops, and that every troop, which never consists of above five or six, is always followed by one only male, discernable by the colour. One of such troops being discovered, they endeavour to make the leopard see them, who is held chained upon a little chariot. This crafty animal doth not presently and directly run after them, but goes winding and turning, stopping and hiding himself, so to approach them with more advantage, and to surprize them: and as he is capable to make five or six leaps with an almost incredible swiftness, when he finds he is within reach, he lanceth himself upon them, worrieth them, and gluts himself with their blood, heart and liver: if he faileth (which often happens) he stands still, and it would be in vain for him to attempt to take them by running after them, because they run much faster, and hold out longer than he. Then the master comes gently about him, flattering him, and throwing him some pieces of flesh, and thus amusing him, puts something over his eyes to cover them, and so chains him and puts him upon the chariot again. One of these leopards gave us once in our march this diversion, which frighted store of people. A troop of Gazelles appeared in the midst of the army, as they will do every day; it chanced that they passed close to two leopards that were carried, as they used to be, upon their little chariot. One of them not blinded, made such an effort that burst his chain, and darted himself after them, but without catching any of them: yet the Gazelles, not knowing which way to escape, being pursued, cried after, and hunted on every side, there was one of them that was forced to re-pass again near the leopard, who, notwithstanding the camels and horses that pestered all the way, and contrary to what is commonly said of this beast, that it never returns to its prey when it hath once failed of it, and flew upon it and caught it.

The hunting of the Nilgaux or grey oxen, which I said

were a kind of elks, hath no great matter in it. They are inclosed in great nets, that are by little and little drawn closer together, and when they reduced to a small compass of enclosure, the King, the Omrahs, and the hunters do enter and kill them at pleasure with arrows, half-pikes, sabres, or musquets; and sometimes in so great numbers, that the King sends quarters of them for presents to all the Omrahs.

The game of the Cranes hath something of divertisement. 'Tis a pleasure to see them defend themselves; but at length, not being nimble in turing, many strong birds master them.

Of all the games that of the Lion is the most royal, because there is none but the King and princes that can exercise it (unless it be by a very particular leave); but it is also the most dangerous. The manner of it is this; when the King is in the field, and the hunting guards have discovered the place of the lion's retirement, they tie fast an ass thereabout, which the lion soon comes to devour, and without caring to look out for other prey, as oxen, cows, mutton, or shepherds, he goes to seek for drink and returns to his ordinary lodging place, where he lies down and sleeps until next morning, when he finds another ass in the self same place, which the hunters have fastened there as the day before; and when they have thus baited and amused him several days in the same place, and now know that the King is nigh, they at length tie fast another ass, but whom they have made to swallow a quantity of opium, to the end that his flesh may the better lull asleep the lion and then all the countrymen of the circumjacent villages spread large and strong nets, made for that purpose, which they also by degrees reduce to a small compass, as is practised in hunting the Nil-gaux. All things thus prepared, the King mounted on an elephant trapped with iron, being attended by the great hunting master, some

Omrahs riding also on elephants, by abundance of Gourzebedars on horseback, and by a numerous hunting-guard on so armed with half-pikes, approacheth to the nets from without, and with a great musquet shoots at the lion; who when he finds himself wounded, comes directly to the elephant, as his custom is; but he meets with those big nets stopping him, and the King shoots so often at him, that at last he kills him. Yet in this last hunting there was a lion that leapt over those nets, fell upon a horseman whose horse he killed, and then ran away; but the hunters met with him, and inclosed him again in the net, which caused a great disturbance to the army; we were three or four days padding in small torrents running down the mountains, betwixt under-wood and such long grass as the camels hardly can be seen therein; and happy were these that had some provision of victuals, for all was in disorder: the Bazzars could not range themselves, and the villages were remote. The reason why they were to stop there so long, was, that as it is a good omen with the Indians when the King kills a lion, so it is a very ill one, when he faileth, and they think that the state would run great hazard if they should not master him. Hence 'tis also that they make many ceremonies upon the account of this hunting; for they bring the dead lion before the King in the general assembly of the Omrahs, and after he hath been well viewed, and exactly measured, 'tis recorded in the archives, that such a king, at such a time, slew a lion of such bigness, of such hair, of so long and large teeth and claws, not omitting the least circumstances.

I shall here only add a word in reference to what is commonly said of the opium, that the ass is made to swallow, *vis.*, that one of the chief hunters assured me, that it was but a tale of the vulgar, and that the lion slept sufficiently without it, when he had his belly full.

Now to return to our march. When the great rivers,

which in these quarters, commonly have no bridges, are to be passed, there are made two boat bridges, about two or three hundred paces distant from one another; which they know well enough how to chain and fasten together. Upon them they cast earth and straw mingled together, which preventeth the sliding of the animals. The first passing upon, and the coming from it are only dangerous, because, that besides the great crowd, which then commonly throngeth, and the great confusion and embarrassment it often happens that pits and holes are made, when it is moving earth; and then you shall have horses and burthened oxen tumble upon one another, over whom people do pass with an incredible disorder; which would be yet greater, if all were to pass in one day: but ordinarily the king encamped but half a league from the bridge, where he stays a day or two, and he never almost encampeth farther than half a league from the river on the other side of the bridge, so that the army may have at least three days and three nights to pass more conveniently.

Lastly, as to the number of people that is found in the army, it is not so easy a thing to determine it. It is so differently spoken of, that one knows not what to judge of it. What I can tell you of it in the general, that is most probable, is this: that in this march there were at least, as to soldiers and others, a hundred thousand horsemen, and above a hundred and fifty thousand animals, as horses, mules or elephants; that there were near fifty thousand camels, and almost as many oxen or asses, that serve to carry the grain, and other provisions of these poor people of the Bazars, their wives and children: for they lug all with them, as our Bohemians do. Upon this measure, you may reckon pretty near the number of the serving people, supposing that nothing is there done, but by the force of servants, and that I, who am, but in the rank of a cavalier of two horses, can hardly do my business with less than three men: some

say, that in the whole army, there is scarcely less than between three or four hundred thousand persons. Others reckon more; others less. Nobody ever told them to determine the precise number. I can say nothing of certainty, but only that it is a prodigious and almost incredible number; but then you are to imagine, it is all Delhi, the capital city, that marcheth, because that all the inhabitants of that town, living upon the court and the army, are obliged to follow them, especially when the voyage is to be long as this; or else they must starve.

The difficulty is to know, whence, and how so great an army can subsist in the field, so vast a number of people and beasts. For that, we must only suppose (which is very true), that the Indians live very soberly, and observe a very simple diet, and that of all this great number of cavaliers, there is not the tenth, no not the twentieth man, that in his march eats flesh; provided they have their kichery, that is, their mixture of rice, and of other legums, upon which they pour butter when they are boiled, they are content.

We are also to know, that camels endure labour, hunger and thirst extremely well, live upon little, and eat almost any thing: and that as soon as the army encampeth any where, the camel-drivers let them go into the field to brouze, where they eat whatever they light upon. Besides, that the merchants that entertain Bazars in Delhi, are obliged to entertain them in the field; and that all the small merchants that keep shops in the Bazars of Delhi, keep them also in the army, either by force, or out of necessity; and lastly, that as to forage, all those poor people go roving up and down every where in the villages, to buy what they can get, and to gain something by it; and their great and common refuge is, with a kind of trowel to raspe or knock down whole fields, to beat and wash what they have there gotten, and so to carry it to sell to the army, which they do some-



times very dear, and sometimes very cheap. I forgot to mention one thing that is remarkable, *vis.*; that the King enters into the camp, and now on one side, then on another; and to-day he passeth near the tents of certain Omrahs, and to-morrow near those of others, which he doth not without design; for the Omrahs, which he passeth by so near, are obliged to meet him, and to make him some small presents or other; so that some will present him with twenty rupees of gold, which maketh thirty pistoles; others with fifty, and so others in proportion, according to their generosity, and the greatness of their pay.

For the rest, you will excuse me, that I do not observe to you the towns and boroughs that are between Delhi and Lahore. I have seen in a manner [none of them, for I went almost always across the fields, and in the night, because my Agah was not placed in the middle of the army, where often is the high way, but very forward in the right wing. We went as well as we could by star-light cross the fields to gain the right wing of the camp, without seeking for the high-way; though sometimes we found ourselves much perplexed, and in lieu of three or four leagues, which is the ordinary distance of one encampment from another, we sometimes made five or six; but when the day comes on, we soon found ourselves where we should be.

*Letter III.—A Description of Lahore, the Capital of Punjab, or the Kingdom of the Five Waters.*

SIR,

It is not without reason, that this kingdom, of which Lahore is the capital city, is called Punjab, or the country of the five waters, because there are actually five considerable rivers coming down from those mountains, within which the kingdom of Kashmere is locked up, and that run

cross this tract of land to fall into the river Indus, discharging themselves together into the ocean at Scymdi, towards the entry of the Persian Gulf. Whether Lahore be that ancient Bucephalos, I decide not. Mean time, Alexander is sufficiently known here under the name of Sekander Filifous, that is, Alexander son of Philip; but as to his horse, they know it not. The city of Lahore is built upon one of these five rivers, which is not less than our river Loire, and for which there is great need of a like bank, because, it maketh great devastation, and often changeth its bed, and hath but lately retired itself from Lahore for a quarter of a league; which very much incommodeth the inhabitants. The houses of Lahore have this peculiar above those of Delhi and Agra, that they are very high, but most of them are ruinous, because it is now more than twenty years that the court is always at Delhi or at Agra, and that in these later years the rains have been so excessive, that they have overthrowed many of them, whereby also much people hath been killed. It is true, there remains still five or six considerable streets, of which there are two or three that are above a league long; but in them also are many buildings found that fall down. The King's palace is no longer upon the river-side, as it was formerly, because that the river hath left it. It is very high and magnificent; yet those of Agra and Delhi do much surpass it. It is now above two months that we are here, expecting the melting of the snow of the mountains of Kashmere, for a more convenient passage into that kingdom. But at length we are to depart to-morrow. The king hath been gone these two days. I have got a little Kashmerian tent which I bought yesterday. I was advised to do like others, and to leave here my ordinary tent, which is big and heavy enough, because, they say, that between the mountains of Kachemire whither we are now marching, it will be difficult to find room enough, and that the camels not having place

enough to pass, we shall be obliged to get our baggage carried by porters, and that so my large tent would cost me much to carry. Adieu.

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#### LETTER IV.

SIR,

I BELIEVED, that after we had overcome the heat of Moka, near Babel-mandel, I could defy those of the rest of the earth, but since these four days that the army left Lahore, I find I come very short of my reckoning, and I have experimented to the hazard of my life, that it is not without reason, that the Indians themselves did apprehend the eleven or twelve days march of this army, from Lahore to Bamber, the entry of the mountains of Kachemire. I protest unto you, without any exaggeration, that the heats have been so excessive, that sometimes they have reduced me to extremity, in so much that I knew not in the morning whether I should live till night. The cause of this extraordinary heat is, that the high mountains of Kachemire being on the north of our road, keep from us all the cool wind that might come and refresh us from that quarter, and do reflect the sun-beams upon us, and leave the field burnt up and choaking. But to what purpose, to play the philosopher, and to seek reasons for that, which perhaps will kill me to-morrow.

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#### LETTER V.

SIR,

I PASSED, yesterday, one of the greatest rivers of the Indies, called the Tchenau. The excellency of the water, of which the great Omrahs make provision, in lieu of that of Ganges, (whereof they have drunk hitherto) keeps me;

from believing this to be some river to pass to hell, rather than to Kachemire, where they would make us believe we should find snow and ice: for I find it grow worse and worse every day, and that the more we advance, the more heat we feel. It is true that I passed the bridge at noon-day, but I almost knew not which was best, to march in the field, or to keep one's self stuffed up under a tent: at least, I have succeeded in my my design, which was, to pass the bridge with ease, whilst all men did repose themselves, expecting to leave the camp towards evening when the heat is not so violent: whereas if I had said as the rest did, some mischief perhaps might have befallen me. For it hath been, I hear, the most terrible confusion, and the greatest disorder that ever was any the like former passage from Dehli; the entering up in the first boat, and the going off from the last, having been made very difficult, because it was mere moving sand, which as people marched upon it stirred it, did slide away into the water, and left a pit; in somuch that a great number of camels, oxen and horses were, in the crowd, overthrown and trampled under food, and store of blows, distributed besides. There are ordinarily, upon such occasions, some officers and cavaliers of the Omrahs, who, to make way for their masters and baggage, are not sparing of them. My Navab hath lost one of his camels with the iron oven it carried; which maketh me apprehend, I shall be reduced to the bread of Bazar. Farewell.

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#### LETTER VI.

SIR,

It is too much curiosity, it is folly, or at least temerity in an European to expose himself to such heats and dangerous marches. It is putting one's self into manifest peril of life. Yet, notwithstanding, misfortune is good for something.

Whilst we stayed at Lahore, I was seized on by a flux, and by gripings, which did very much incommode me, caused by my constant lying upon a terrass, and taking the cool of the night, as we used to do at Dehli without danger : but since we have been marching these eight or nine days the sweat hath dissipated all these humours. My body is become a right sieve, very dry ; and I have no sooner taken into my stomach a pint of water (for less will not serve our turn), but I see it at the same time issue out of my limbs, like a dew, to the very ends of my fingers. I believe I have this day drank above ten pints. And this is some comfort, that one may drink of it as much as one lists without danger, provided it be good water.

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*Letter VII.—To the same.—Written from the camp of the Army, marching from Lahor to Kachemire, the tenth of March in the Morning.*

SIR,

THE sun is but just now rising, yet he is not intolerable ; there is not a cloud in the sky ; nor a breath of wind ; my horses are spent, they have not seen a green herb since we came out of Lahore ; my Indians, for all their black, dry and hard skin, sink under it. My face, hands and feet peald off, and my body covered all over with pimples, that prick me as so many needles. Yesterday one of our poor cavaliers, that had no tent, was found dead at the foot of a small tree he had seized on. I doubt whether I shall outlive this day's journey ; all my hopes is in a little dry curdled milk, which I am going to dilute with water and sugar, and some lemons, I have left, to make lemonade, farewell ; the ink dryeth at the end of my pen, and the pen falls out of my hand.

*Letter VII.—To the same.—Written from Bember, the entry of the Mountains of Kachemire, after having two Days encamped there.—What Bember is; the Change of the passages for the Mountains; the incredible Number of Porters, and the Order observed in the Army.*

SIR,

WE at length arrived at Bember, the foot of a steep, back and burned mountain, and we are encamped in the channel of a large torrent dried up, full of a sand and stones burning hot. It is like a hot oven; and if it were not for the shower of rain we had this morning, and for the curdled milk, the lemons, and the fowl brought to us from the mountains, I know not what would have become of me and you would perhaps never seen this letter. But God be thanked, I feel the air a little cooler; my stomach, strength and tongue are returned. So then take the account of our new kind of march and trouble.

Yester-night the king first of all, together with Rauchenara-Begum, and the other women of the seraglio, the Raja Raganat that performs the office of the Vizir, and Fazel kan the high-steward, went away from this burning place, and last night the great hunting-master departed, with some of the greatest and most necessary officers of the royal family, and many considerable women. This night it is our turn; my Navab, Danech-mend-kan, will go away, and Mahmet-Emir-kan, the son of that famous Emir-Jemla, of whom I have spoken so much in another place, will be of our company; and so will Daniet-kan, our good friend, with his two sons, and many other Omrahs, Rajas, and Mansebdars: and after us, all the other lords, that are bound for Kashmere, will be gone all in their turns, to avoid in these difficult and narrow ways of the mountains, the trouble and confusion, during these five days of marching between this place and Kachemire. AH

the rest of the court, as Feday-kan, the great master of the artillery, three or four great Rajas, and many Omrahs, are to stay here about for a guard, during three or four months, until the king do return after the great heats are over. Some shall go to dress their tents on the one side of the river Tchenau, others in the neighbouring towns and boroughs, and others will be obliged to camp here in this fire of Bember.

The king, for fear of starving this small kingdom of Kachemire, first carries with him the least number of women he can, the greatest ladies, the best friends of Rauchenara Begum, and those that are most necessary for service. Nor doth he carry more of the Omrahs and Militia than needs he must: and the Omrahs that have leave to come with him, cannot take with them all the cavaliers, but only 25 of 100; yet without comprehending therein the particular officers of their family. And that is to be religiously observed; because there is an Omrah upon the guard at the entry of the mountains, that reckons all that pass, one by one, and hinders the passing of that great number of Manseb-dars and other cavaliers, that would fain go and enjoy the cool air of Kachemire; as also all those small merchants and little people of Bazar that seek to gain a livelihood. The king, for the carriage of necessaries and the women of the seraglio, taketh with him some of the strongest and best elephants: these beasts, though gross and unweildly, are very sure-footed, and in an ill way they march very warily, assuring themselves first of one foot before they remove the other. He taketh also some mules with him; but camels, the most necessary, he cannot make use of in this passage; these mountains being too steep and craggy for their long shanked and stiff legs: porters must supply their places; and what number, think you, must there be, if the king alone, as they say, hath above six thousands for his occasions, and I, a private man,

though I have left at Lahore my ordinary tent and much of my baggage, as every one hath done, even the king himself and the Omrahs; find myself obliged to have three of them? It is believed, there are already no less here than fifteen thousand, partly of those which the governor of Kachemire, and the Rajas, hereabout have compelled to be here, partly of those that come hither of their own accord out of the neighbouring villages to earn something; for a man is obliged, following the king's order, to give them ten crown for an hundred pound weight. It is said, that, in all, there are above thirty thousand of them, without reckoning that a month ago the king and the Omrahs sent way some baggage before, and the merchants all sorts of commodities.

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*Letter IX.—An exact Description of the Kingdom of Kachemire, and the present State of the neighbouring Mountains; together with an Answer to Five considerable Questions of a Friend.*

SIR,

THE histories of the ancient kings of Kachemire, tells us, that all that country was formerly nothing but a great lake, and that there was an old holy man, called Kacheb, that gave an outlet to the waters, by a miraculous cut he made in the mountain of Bramoule. This may be seen in the abridgement of these histories, which Jehan-Guyre caused to be made, and which I am translating out of the Persian tongue. For my part, I would not deny, all this land to have once been covered with water; the like is affirmed of Thessaly, and some other countries; but it is hard to believe, that this opening is the work of one man, because the mountain is very big and very high. I should rather think, that some great earthquake (those parts being



subject enough to them) had opened some cavern under ground, which the mountain did sink into after the same manner as the opening of Babel-Mandel is made (if it be true what the Arabians of that country say of it), and as whole towns and mountains have been seen to be swallowed up in great lakes.

However it be, Kachemire is no lake now, but a very fair campagne, diversified by many little hillocks, about thirty leagues long, and ten or twelve leagues broad; situated in the extreme of Hindustan, north of Lahore, locked up within the mountains of Caucasus, between those of the kings of the great Tibet, the little Tibet, and the Raja Gamon, its next neighbours.

The first mountains surrounding it, I mean those that are next to the plain, are of a middle height, all green with trees of pasture, full of all sorts of cattle, as cows, sheep, goats, horses; and of game of divers kinds, as partridges, hares, gazelles, and of some animals yielding musk. There are also abundance of bees, and (which is rare in the Indies) there are found no serpents, tigers, bears, lions, but very seldom. So that it may be said, that these are not only very innocent mountains, but flowing with milk and honey, as were those of the land of promise.

Beyond those middle sized mountains, there rise others, very high ones, the top of which are always covered with snow, and appear above the ordinary clouds and mists, always calm and clear, as well as mount Olympus.

Our of all these mountains do issue innumerable sources and rivulets on all sides, which the inhabitants know how to convey to their rice-fields, and even through raised ground unto their little hillocks; and which, after they have made a thousand other little rivulets, and a thousand cascates every where, come at last to meet, and to make a very fair river, that carrieth boats as big as our river of Seine; and after it hath gently turned about the kingdom

and passed through the midst of the capital city, finds its out-let at Banmoule between two steep rocks ; and having afterwards taken in many small rivers that come down from the mountains, falls about Atex into the river Indus.

All these rivulets, descending from the mountains, make the plain and all those hillocks so fair and fruitful, that one would take this whole kingdom for some ever-green garden, intermixed with villages and boroughs discovering themselves between the trees, and diversified by meadows, fields of rice, corn, and divers other legumes, of hemp and saffron ; all interlaced with ditches full of water, with channels, with small lakes and rivulets here and there. Up and down, every where, are also seen some of our European plants, flowers, and all sorts of our trees, as apples, pears, prunes, apricots, nuts, vines. The particular gardens are full of melons, water-melons, skirrets, beets, radishes, all sorts of our pot-herbs, and of some we have not.

'Tis true, there are not so many sorts of fruit as with us, nor are they so excellent as ours ; but I believe that that is not the fault of the soil, but that if they had as good gardeners as we, knowing to cultivate and graft trees, to chuse proper places and proper stocks, and to send for grafts from foreign countries, they would have as many and as good as we ; because among that number of divers sorts, which I often caused to be brought to me, I have frequently met with very excellent ones.

The capital city, which is of the same name with that of the kingdom, is without walls ; 'tis three quarters of a league long, and half a league broad ; situate in a plain about two leagues distant from mountains, which seem to make, as it were, a semicircle, and standing upon a lake of sweet-water of four or five miles in compass, which is made up of live springs, and of rivulets running down the mountains, and disgorgeth itself, by a navigable channel, into the river which passeth through the midst of the town.

This river hath, in the town, two wooden bridges over it, for communication. Most houses are of wood, but well built, and of two or three stories high; not as if they had not very good free-stone there (many old idol-temples ruined, and other buildings made of it, being yet to be seen); but the abundance of wood, easily descending from the mountains by little rivers, which it is cast into, maketh people find that way of building turn to better account. The houses that stand upon the river have almost all of them their little gardens, lying upon the water, which maketh a very pleasant perspective, especially in the spring and the summer, when men walk on the river-side. The other houses that stand not upon the river, have also, almost all of them, some gardens: and there are a good number of such that have a channel answering to the lake; and a little boat to go and divert themselves upon it.

In one end of the town there appears a hill, loose from all the rest, which maketh another very agreeable perspective, because on its declivity there stand very fine houses with gardens, and on the top, a mosque and a hermitage well built, with a garden and store of fine green trees; and 'tis upon the account of these trees and gardens, that in the language of the country 'tis called Haryperbet, as if you should say, the mountain of verdure.

Opposite to this hill there is seen another, on which there is also a mosque, but a little one, together with a garden, and a very ancient building which seems to have been a temple of idols, though they call it Taet Souliman, that is, the throne of Solomon, because that Solomon, as the Mahomedans say, caused it to be built when he came to Kashmere: but how they will prove that Solomon made this voyage, I know not.

The lake hath this peculiar, that 'tis full of little isles, which are as many gardens of pleasure, that appear all green in the midst of the water, by reason of those fruit-

bearing-trees, and of the walks, on both sides set with arbours and because they are surrounded with large leaved aspen-trees, standing at two foot distance from one another, the biggest whereof may be clasped about, but as tall as as masts of great ships, having only a tuft of branches at the top like palm-trees.

Beyond the lake, upon the side of the hills, there is nothing but houses and gardens of pleasure, the place having been found wonderfully proper for it, as being in a very fine air, in the view of the lake, the isles and the town, and full of springs and rivulets.

The most admirable of all these gardens is that of the King, which is called Shahlimar. From the lake, one enters into it by a great canal, bordered with great green turfs. This canal is above five hundred common paces long, and runs betwixt two large alleys of poplars: it leadeth to a great cabinet in the midst of the garden, where begins another canal far more magnificent, which runs with a little rising unto the end of the garden. This canal is paved with large free-stone; its sloping side covered with the same; and in the midst of it there is a long row of jets of water, from fifteen to fifty foot. There are also, from space to space, great rounds of water serving for store-houses, whence many jets of water, variously figured, do spring up: and this canal ends at another great cabinet, which is almost like the first.

These cabinets, which are in a manner made like domes, situate in the middle of the canal, and encompassed with water, and consequently between those two great alleys of poplars, hath a gallery that reigneth round about, and four gates opposite to one another, two of which do respect the alleys, with two bridges to pass over, one on one side, and the other on the other; the other two look upon the opposite canals. Each cabinet consists of a great chamber in the midst of four other lesser chambers, which are in the

four corners. All is painted and gilded within the great chamber as well as the little ones, having sentences with great letters in the Persian tongue written upon them. The four gates are very rich; they are made of great stones with two columes, taken from those ancient idol-temples ruined by Shah-Jehan. The price of these great stones and pillars is not well known, nor what kind of stone they be; though it appears sufficiently, that 'tis a sort of precious stone, finer than marble or porphyre.

From all that hath been said, one may easily conjecture, that I am somewhat charmed with Kashmere, and that I pretend, there is perhaps nothing in the world like it for so small a kingdom. It deserves very well to reign over all those neighbouring mountains as far as Tartary, and over all Hindustan as far as Ceylon, as once 'it did: and 'tis not without some cause, that the Moguls call it the terrestrial Paradise of the Indies; that Ekbar took so much pains to make himself master of it, and that his son Jehan-Guyre became so amorous thereof, that he could not leave it, and often said, he would rather lose all his empire, than Kachemire. And from the time that we arrived there, all the poets both Kachemerians and Mogulians, strove to make poems to the praise of this little kingdom to present them to Aureng-Zebe, who gladly received and rewarded them. I remember, that among others, there was one, that exaggerating the extraordinary height of the mountains encompassing it, and rendering it almost inaccessible any where, said, that the top of these mountains was the cause, that the heavens did retire into the figure of a vault as we see it; and that Kachemire being the master-piece of nature, and the king of the kingdoms of the world, it was suitable it should be hard of access, and so enjoy an undisturbed peace and tranquillity, commanding all, and not being liable to be commanded by any. He added, that the reason why nature had surrounded it with mountains, of which some,

namely the highest and most remote, were always white and covered with snow, the lowermost and the next to the plain, all green and covered with wood, was, because that the king of the kingdoms of the world was to wear the most precious crown, the top whereof was to be of diamonds and the bottom of emeralds. If the poet had added (said I to my Navab Danechmend-kan, who was willing to make me admire all those poems) that all those great countries of mountains that environ it, as the little Tibhet, the state of the Raja Gamon, Kachger and Serenagner, are to be comprehended under the kingdom of Kachemire, since according to the history of the country, they once depended from it, consequently that the river Ganges on the one side, that of Indus on the other, the Chenau on a third and the Gemna on the fourth, do issue out of the Kachemire; that these rivers, with so many others that run thence, do countervail the Gihon, the Pison, and the two others; and if at last he had concluded, that this was certainly the true terrestrial paradise, rather than that in Armenia, this would have much enhanced the worth of all his commendations.

The Kachemirians have the reputation of being a very witty people, much more intelligent and dextrous than the Indians, and as fit for poesy and sciences, as the Persians. Besides, they are very industrious, and willing to take pains; they make Palkeys, trunks, bedsteads, standishes, boxes, spoons, and many other pieces, and all of good and very handsome workmanship, sent over all the Indies. They know how to give it a good varnish, and so dextrously to counterfeit the veins of a certain wood that hath very fine ones, by applying gold strings upon it, that there is nothing finer. But what is peculiar and considerable in them, and which draws the trade and silver into the country, is that prodigious quantity of stuffs called chales, which they work there, and employ their little children in.

These chales are certain kinds of stuff an ell and an half long, and about an ell broad, which are embroidered at each end with a kind of embroidery about a foot large. The Moguls and Indians, both men and women, wear of them in winter upon their heads, passing them over their left shoulder like a mantle. They make two sorts of them; one, of the wool of the country, which is finer than that of Spain; the other, of a wool, or rather of an hair, they call touz, taken from the breast of a wild goat of the great Tibet. These latter are of a far greater price than the former: neither is there any castor so soft and delicate. The mischief is, the worms get easily into it, unless you have a particular care often to unfold and air them. I have seen of these, which the Omrahs purposely caused to be made, which cost an hundred and fifty rupees: of the others, that are made of the wool of the country, I have seen none that cost above fifty.

'Tis observed of these chales, that, work them never so carefully in Patna, Agra, and Lahore, you shall never make the stuff so soft and fine, as in Kachemire; which is commonly imputed to the particular water of the country: as at Maslipatam they make those fine stuffs, which become fairer by washing.

The Kachemirians are also famous for their good complexion. They look as well as our Europeans, and have nothing of a Tartarian flat-nosed and littled eyed face, as those of Kachguer, and most of the people of the great Tibet. The women, especially, are very beautiful; and therefore all strangers, that are new comes to the court of Mogul, are furnished from thence, that so they may have children whiter than the Indians, and which by this means may pass for true Moguls. And certainly, if one may judge of the beauty of the retired women by that of the common people, met with in the streets, and seen up and down in the shops, we must believe, that there are very handsome

ones. At Lahore, where they have the repute of being proper and slender, and the handsomest of the brown lasses of the Indies (as really they are). I used an art which is ordinary among the Moguls, which is, to follow some elephants, especially those that are richly harnessed; for as soon as those women hear the two bells hanging on the on the sides of those beasts, they all put their heads out of the windows. The same trick I used here; and I made also use of another, in which I succeeded very well; it was devised by an old and famous master of a school, whom I had taken to help me to understand a Persian poet. He made me buy store of comfits; and he being known and welcome every where, carried me into above fifteen houses, telling them that I was his kinsman, newly come out of Persia, that I was rich and to be married. As soon as we came into a house, he distributed comfits to the children, and presently all came about us, women and children, great and small, to have their share, or to be seen. This curiosity alone cost many a good rupee; but it confirmed me, that in Kachemire there are as fair faces, as in any place of Europe.

There remains only to impart unto you what I observed most considerable between the mountains, from Bember hither (with which perhaps I should have begun); and after having given you an account of some other little voyages I have been obliged to make in divers parts of this kingdom, you will learn all I could come to know of the rest of the circumjacent mountains.

Concerning therefore first, our voyage from Bember hither, it seemed to me surprizing enough to find myself, from the first night that we parted from Bember, and entered into the mountains, pass from a torrid to a temperate zone: for, we had no sooner mounted this dreadful wall of the world, I mean this high, steep, black and bald mountain of Bember, but that in descending on the other side, we found an air that was pretty tolerable, fresh, gentle



and temperate. But that which surprised me more in these mountains was, to find myself, in a trice, transported out of the Indies into Europe. For, seeing the earth covered with all our plants and shrubs, except issop, thyme, majoram and rosemary, I imagined I was in some of our mountains of Auvergne, in the midst of a forest of all our kinds of trees, pines, oaks, elms, plant-trees. And I was the more astonished because in all those burning fields of Indostan, whence I came, I had seen almost nothing of all that.

Among other things relating to plants, this surprised me, that one and half a days journey from Bember, I found a mountain that was covered with them on both sides, but with this difference, that on the side of the mountain that was southerly toward the Indies, there was a mixture of Indian and European plants, and on that which was exposed to the north I observed none but European ones; as if the former had participated of the air and temper of Europe and the Indies, and the other had been merely European.

As to the trees, I admired this natural course of generations and corruptions; below in this bottom, where perhaps no man ever was, I saw hundreds that was falling, or fallen, one upon another, dead and half rotten of age, and other young and verdant ones growing out of the foot of those that were dead; some of them also I saw burnt, whether it was from lightning, or that in the heat of summer they had taken fire by rubbing themselves against one another, when they were agitated by some hot and impetuous wind; or as the country people say, that they take fire of themselves, when they be grown and dry.

I admired also those natural cascadas of water, which we found between those rocks. We met among others, one of them so wonderful, that doubtless it cannot be paralleled.

One seeth afar off from the side of an high mountain, running down, a torrent of water, in a channel covered with trees, and precipitate itself in a trice to the bottom of a steep

rock of a stupendous height, with a noise that is able to strike one deaf, like a cataract. There was erected near it a theatre, upon a rock, which Jehan-Guyre had caused purposely to be made plain, that the court passing, might there repose themselves, and from thence, with convenience, behold this admirable workmanship of nature ; which, as well as those old trees I was just now speaking of, seems to resemble something of great antiquity, and of the first production of the world.

All these divertisements were blended with an odd accident. On the day that the King went upon the mountain of Pirepenjale, which is the highest of all, and whence one begins to discover afar off the country of Kachemire ; on that day, I say, that the king ascended this mountain, being followed by a long row of elephants, upon which sit the women in Mik-dembars, Embarys, one of those elephants, was frightened by beholding, as the Indians wold have it, such a steep ascent, and fell back upon him that was next, and he upon the next, and so on to the fifteenth, so that not one of them being able to turn in this way, which was extremely rude and steep, they all tumbled the precipice. It was good fortune for those poor women, that the precipice itself was not very steep, so that there were but three or four of them killed ; but the fifteenth elephant remained upon the place. When these bulky masses do once fall under those vast burdens they are loaden with, they never rise again, though the way be never so fair. We saw them two days after, in passing by, and I observed some of them yet stirring their trunk. This accident put the whole army, which had marched four days along the mountains in file, into great disorder, because to recover the women and all that wreck, a stop was made for the remainder of that day and all the night, every one being necessitated to stop where he was, because it was in many places impossible to advance or go back, and none had near him those porters that carried his tent and victuals.

As for myself, I was not in the worst condition, having found means to creep out of the way, and to take the conveniency of a small place to lie down in, for myself and my horse. And, to my good luck, one of my servants that followed me, had a little bread, which we shared together. I remember, it was there where, stirring some stones, we found a great black scorpion, which a young Mogul of my acquaintance took, and squeezed it in his own hand, and then in the hand of my servant, and at last in mine, without our being stung by him. This young cavalier said, that he had charmed him, as he had done many others before, by a passage of the Alcoran, which he would not teach me because, said he, the power of charming would pass to me and leave himself, as it had passed to him by quitting his teacher.

In traversing this same mountain of Pirepenjale, where the elephants tumbled down, there occurred those things which called to my mind some of my former philosophical thoughts. The first was, that in less than an hour we felt summer and winter; for in ascending we did sweat gross drops, all men going on foot in a burning sun; and when we came to the top of the mountain, we yet found the icy snow, that had been cut to open the way; there was frost upon a misling rain, and there blew a wind so cold, that all people shook and ran away, especially the silly Indians, who had never seen ice or snow, nor felt such a cold.

The second was, that in less than two hundred paces I met with two quite contrary winds; one from the north, which blew in my face ascending, especially when I came near the top and another from the south, which blew against my back in descending; as if this hill had protruded exhalations out of its bowels from all sides, which coming forth had caused a wind that had descended and taken its course in those two opposite dales.

The third was the meeting an old hermit, that had lived

on the top of this mountain since the time of Jehan-Guyre, and whose religion was not known ; though it was said, that he did miracles, caused strange thunders when he would and raised storms of hail, snow, rain, and wind. He looked somewhat savage-like, having a long and large white beard uncombed. He asked alms somewhat fiercely ; suffered us to take up water in earthen cups, he had ranged upon a great stone ; made sign with his hand, importing that we should speedily march away, and grumbled at those that made a noise, because, said he to me, (when I entered into his cave, and had a little sweetened his looks with half a rupee, which with much humility I put into his hand) a noise raiseth furious storms and tempests. Aureng-Zebe, said he further, did very well in following my counsel, and not permitting [to make any noise : Shah-Jehan always took care of the same ; but Jehan-Guyre once mocking at it and causing trumpets and cymbals to sound, was like to have perished here.

In reference to the little voyage I have made in divers parts of this kingdom, behold the particulars I took notice of as I passed. We were no sooner arrived at Kachemire, but my Navab Danechmend-kan sent me, together with one of his horsemen for a convoy, and a countryman, to one of the extremities of this kingdom, three small days journey from hence, upon the relation made him, that this was the very time to see the wonders (for so they speak of them) of a spring that is thereabout. These wonders are, that in the month of May, the time when the snow begins but to melt, this fountain, for about the space of fifteen days, regularly flows and stops thrice a-day, at break of day, at noon, and at night : its flowing ordinarily lasts three quarters of an hour, more or less, and that plentifully enough to fill a square receptacle having steps to go down to it, and being about ten or twelve foot broad, and as many foot deep. After the first fifteen days, its course begins to

be less regular, and less copious; and at length, after a month or thereabout, it quite stops and runs no more for the rest of the year, unless it be, that during some rains, it flows incessantly and without rule, as other fountains do. The Gentiles have on the side of the receiver a little temple of the idol Brare, which is one of their false deities; and thence it is that they call this fountain Send-Brary, as if you should say, Water of Brare; and that thither they come from all parts in pilgrimage, to bathe and sanctify themselves in this miraculous water. Upon the origin of this water make many fables, which I shall not recite to you, because I find not the least shadow of truth in them. During the five or six days of my stay there, I did what possibly I could to find the reason of this wonder. I did attentively consider the situation of the mountain, at the foot of which this spring is found: I went to the very top with great pains, searching and prying every where. I observed that it extends itself in length from north to south; that 'tis severed from other mountains, which are very near to it; that it is in the form of an ass's back; that its top, which is very long, hath not much more than a hundred paces where it is largest; that one of the sides of the mountain, which is covered with nothing but green grass, is exposed to the east, yet so that the sun comes not to shine out before eight o'clock in the morning, because of the other opposite mountains; and lastly, that the other side, which is exposed to the west, is covered with trees and bushes. All this being considered, I did imagine, that the heat of the sun, together with the particular situation, and the internal disposition of the mountain, might very well be the cause of this pretended miracles; that the morning sun, coming briskly to strike on the side opposite thereto, heats it, and melts part of the frozen waters, which during the winter, when all was covered with snow, had insinuated themselves into the inner parts of the earth of

this mountain; that these waters penetrating, and by little and little running down unto certain beds of quick rock, which retain and convey them toward the spring head, cause the slowing of the fountain at noon; that the same sun, raised to the south, and leaving that other side, now growing cold, for to strike with its beams as it were perpendicularly, the top, doth also melt other frozen waters, which likewise run down by little and little as the other but by other turning, unto those rocky beds, and cause the flowing at night: and that lastly, the sun heating likewise this western side, produceth the like effect, and causes the third flux in the morning; which is slower than the two others; either because this western side is remote from the eastern where the source is; or because that being covered with wood, it is not so soon heated; or by reason of the cold of the night. Now I found this my reasoning the more cogent, forasmuch as it seems to agree with what is affirmed that in the first days the water comes in greater abundance than in the latter; and that at last it stops, and runs not at all; as if indeed in the beginning there were with those frozen waters great plenty in the earth than at last. It seems also to agree with what is observed, that there are some days in the beginning, in which one flux is found more abounding than the other, and sometimes more at noon than in the evening or morning, or in the morning more than at noon; it commonly falling out so that some days there are hotter than other, or that some clouds arise which interrupt the equality of the heat, and consequently make the flux unequal.

Returning from Send-brary, I turned a little aside from the road to go and lie at Achiavel, which is a house of pleasure of the ancient kings of Kachemire, and at present of the great Mogul. That which most adorns it, is a fountain, the water whereof diffuseth itself on all sides round about that fabric (which is not despicable) and into

the gardens by a hundred canals. It breaks out of the earth, as if by some violence it ascended up from the bottom of a well, and that with such an abundance as might make it to be called a river than a fountain. The water of it is admirably good, and so cold that one can hardly endure to hold one's hands in it. The garden itself is very fine, there being curious walks in it, and store of fruit-bearing trees of apples, pears, prunes, apricots and cherries, and many jets of waters of various figures, and ponds replenished with fish, together with a very high cascata of water, which by its fall maketh a great nape of thirty or forty paces long, which hath an admirable effect especially in the night, when under this nape there is put a great number of little lamps fitted in holes purposely made in the wall ; which maketh a curious shew.

From Achiavel I went yet a little more out of my way to pass through another royal garden, which is also very beautiful, and hath the same pleasantness with that of Achiavel ; but this is peculiar in it, that in one of its ponds there are fishes that come when they are called, and when you cast bread to them ; the biggest whereof have golden rings in their noses, with inscriptions about them, which they say, that renowned Nour-Mehalle, the wife of Jehan Guyre, the grand-father of Aurenge-Zebe, caused to be fastened in them.

I was no sooner returned from Send-brary, but Danechmend-kan, well-satisfied with my voyage, made me undertake one more, to see another sure miracle, as he called it, which should be capable to make me soon change my religion, and turn Mussulman. Go, saith he, to Baramoulay, which is further from hence than Send-brary ; there you shall find a mosque, in which is the tomb of one of our Pires or saints, which still every day works miracle in curing sick people, that flock thither from all parts : it may be, that you will believe nothing of all those miraculous

cures you shall see; but you will at least believe one miracle which is done every day, and you may see with your own eyes: and that is of a big round stone, which the strongest man is hardly able to raise in the least from the ground, but yet eleven men, by praying to that saint, lift up, as if it were a straw, with the end of their eleven fingers, without any trouble at all, and without being sensible of any weight. Hereupon I began this journey also, accompanied with my horseman and the country fellow, and being arrived at Baramoulay, I found it a place pleasant enough. The mosque is sufficiently well built, the tomb of the pretended saint well-adorned, and round about it there was store of people of great devotion, who said they were sick. Near the mosque there was a kitchen with large kettle full of flesh and rice, which, in my opinion, was the magnet drawing the sick people thither, and the miracle that cured them. On the other side was the garden and the chambers of the Mullahs, who with great conveniency and delight spend their life there, under the shadow of the miraculous sanctity of this Pire, which they are not wanting to celebrate: but as I am always very unhappy in such occasions, he did not miracle that day upon any of the sick. As for the great stone, which was the business I came for; there were eleven cheats of these Mullahs that crowded together in a round, and by their long vests hindred me from seeing well in what manner they took and lifted it up; yet said all, that they held it only with the end of one of their fingers, and that it was as light as a feather. For my part who had my eyes open and looked on narrowly, I perceived well enough, that they took great pains, and they seemed to me, they used also the thumb, which they held very firm upon the second finger bent and closed; but yet I was not wanting to cry out as well as the Mullahs and all the other assistants, Karamet, Karamet, miracle, miracle; giving at the same time a rupee for the Mullahs, and with great



shew of devotion praying them to favour me with suffering me once to be one of the eleven lifters up of the stone. They did hesitate long before they resolved to permit it; but having given them another rupee, and made them believe I was persuaded of the truth of the miracle, one of the eleven gave me his place; they doubtless imagined, that ten of them joined together would be sufficient to do the business; though I should not add much to it; and that they would so range themselves and crowd together, that I should perceive nothing of their imposture. But they found themselves egregiously deceived, when they saw that the stone, which I would not support but only by the end of my finger, always inclined and fell to my side, until at length I found it necessary to put my thumb to it, and to hold it with my finger as they did; and then we lifted it up from the earth, yet not without much pain. Notwithstanding, which, when I saw that they all looked upon me a squint, not knowing what to make of me, I still went on crying like the rest, Karamet, miracle, miracle, and over and above casting to them another rupee to secure myself from being stoned: and stealing away from among the crowd, I presently took horse, without eating and drinking, and left the saint and the miracles to those that had faith enough to believe them: observing, as I passed along, that famous opening, which is an outlet to all the waters of this kingdom; of which I have already said something in the beginning of this book.

I left my way again, to approach to a great lake, which I saw afar off, through the middle whereof passeth the river that runs to Baramoulay. It is full of fish, especially eels, and covered with ducks and wild fowl, and many other river-fowl, and 'tis where the governor comes in winter, at which time ~~his~~ is covered with those creatures to divert themselves with fowling. In the midst of this lake there is an hermitage with its little garden, which, as they say,

doth miraculously float upon the water, and where the hermite passeth his life without ever going from it. Besides which, they make a thousand other ridiculous tales of it, which are not worth reciting, unless perhaps you will except what some have told me, that it was one of those ancient kings of Kachemire, who out of curiosity caused this hermitage to be built upon thick beams fastened to one another.

Thence I went to find out a fountain, which hath something that's rare enough in it bubbling up gently, and rising with some little impetuosity, and making small bubbles of air, and carrying with it, to the top, some small sand that is very fine, which goeth away again at it came, the water becoming still, a moment after it, without ebullition, and without bringing up sand; and soon after beginning a fresh as before, and so continuing its motion by intervals, which are not regular. But the wonder, as they say, consists in this, that the least noise made by speaking, or by knocking one's foot against the ground, moveth the water, and maketh it run and bubble as was said. Yet I found plainly, that speaking or knocking availeth nothing to produce that effect, and that it moveth as well when one saith nothing, as when one speaks or knocketh. But now to give the true cause of it, that requireth more thinking than I have bestowed upon it; unless one should say, that the sand, by falling down again, obstructeth the narrow channel of this small and weak spring, until the water, being closed up and kept in, make an effort to remove and raise again the sand, and so to disengage itself; or rather that some wind, pent in the channel of the spring, rises by turns, as it comes to pass in artificial fountains.

After we had considered this fountain, we entered into the mountains to see a great lake, which hath ice in summer, and looketh like a little ice sea, having heaps of ice, made and unmade by the winds. Afterwards we passed through

a certain place, called Seng-safed, that is, white stone, which is famous for being full all the summer long of all sorts of flowers like a parterre, and for this observation, that when much people go thither, making a great noise and much stirring the air, there presently falls a shower of rain. This is certain, that when, some years since, Shah-Jehan went thither, he was in danger of perishing by the great and extraordinary rain survening, though he had commanded, they should make the least noise they could. This agreed with what my cremite of Pirepengale had told me.

And now I was going to a grotto of odd congelating, which is two days journey from thence; but I received news, that after my so long absence my Navab was troubled about me.

As to the condition of the neighbouring mountain round about, I have, since our being here, done what possibly I could to inform myself about them; but I have profited but little, for want of people that are intelligent and observe things; yet notwithstanding I will not omit to relate to you what I have learned of it.

The merchants of Kachemire, that go every year from mountain to mountain, gathering fine wool to make those stuffs I have above been speaking of, do all agree, that between the mountains, which still depend from Kachemire, there are found very fine places of good land, and that amongst others there is one place, which pays its tribute in leather and wool, sent for by the governor every year: and where the women are extreme handsome, chaste and laborious; that there is also another farther off from Kachemire, which also pays its tribute in leather and wool, and hath, very pretty, though but small fertile plains, and most pleasant vallies, abounding in corn, rice, apples, pears, apricocks and melons; as also in raisins yeilding very good wine; the inhabitants whereof have sometimes refused to

pay the tribute, relying upon the difficulty of access to their country ; but there hath always been a way found to enter and to reduce them. The same merchants agree all that among the other mountains, that are more it stand and depend no more from Kachemire, there are likewise found very pleasant countries, peopled with very handsome whites, but such as almost never come out from their homes ; of which some have no kings, nor as far as could be perceived, any religion ; only that some of them do eat no fish, counting them unclean.

I shall add here, what I was lately told by a good ancient man, that had married a wife of the ancient family of the Kings of Kachemire. He said, that when Jehan-Guyre made a strict inquiry after all those that were of that family, he was afraid to be taken, and thereupon fled with three servants cross these mountains, not knowing in a manner whither he went ; that thus wandring he came at last into a very fine small canton, where, when it came to be known who he was, the inhabitants came to visit him and brought him presents, and that, to make up their kindness, they brought to him in the evening one of the beautifulest of their young maidens, praying him that he would bed with her, because they desired very much to have issue of his blood ; that passing from thence into another canton, not much distant from the former, the people likewise came to see him, and to present him ; but that the kindness of the evening was far different from the other, in that these inhabitants brought to him their own wives, arguing that those of the other canton were beasts, because that his blood would not remain in their house, since the maidens would carry the child with them into the house of him to whom they should be married.

I may further add, that some years since, there being a dissention risen between the family of the King of the little Tibet, which borders upon Kachemire, one of the preten-

ders to the crown did secretly call for the assistance of the governor of Kachemire, who by order of Shah-Jehan gave him powerful succours, and put to death or flight all the other pretenders, and left this man in possession of the country, on condition of an annual tribute to be paid in crystal, musc, and wool. This petty king could not forbear coming to see Aureng-Zebe, bringing with him a present of those things I just now named; but he had so pitiful a train, that I should never have taken him for what he was. My Navab entertained him at dinner, that he might receive the better information concerning those mountains. I heard say that his country on the east side did confine with great Tibet; that it was about thirty or fifty leagues broad; that there was indeed some little crystal, musc, and wool, but for the rest very poor; and that there were no gold mines, as was said; that in some places there was very good fruit, especially melons; that they had very hard winters and very troublesome, because of the deep snows; and that the people, which formerly had been heathen, were almost all become Mahomedan, as himself, namely, of that sect called Chia, which is that of all Persia. Besides, that seventeen or eighteen years ago Shah-Jehan had attempted to make himself master of the kingdom of the great Tibet, as formerly also had done the Kings of Kachemire; that his army after sixteen days difficult march, always among mountains, did besiege a castle which they took; that there remained no more for him to do, than to pass a river, which is famous and rapid, and thereupon to march directly to the capital town, which he would have easily carried, the whole kingdom being in a panick terror; but that the season being far spent, the governor of Kachemire, who was the general of that army, did apprehend that he should be surprized by the snow, and so returned, leaving in that castle a garrison, which, whether it was for fear of the enemy, or from want of sufficient provision, he could not say, soon abandoned it;

which broke the design the governor had of returning thither the next spring.

Now that the King of this great Tibet knows that Aureng-Zebe is at Kachemire, and threatens him with war he hath sent to him an ambassador, with presents of the country, as crystal, and those dear white cow-tails, by way of ornament fastened to the ears of elephants, as also musk, and a stone of Jachen of great price, because of an extraordinary bigness. This Jachen is a blueish stone with white veins so hard that it is wrought with nothing else but the powder of diamond, highly esteemed in the court of the Mogul. They make cups of it and other vessels, of which I have some richly wrought with threads of gold, of very curious workmanship. The train of this ambassador did consist of three or four cavaliers, and ten or twelve tall men, dry and lean, having three or four hairs in their beards like the Chinese, and plain red bonnets upon their heads like our seamen, the rest of their garments suitable. I think there were four or five of them with swords, but the rest marched behind the ambassador without any rod or stick. He treated with Aureng-Zebe in his master's name, promising him that he would suffer a mosque to be built in the capital city, wherein prayers should be made after the Mahomedan way; that the money henceforth to be coined should on the one side have the impress of Aureng-Zebe, and that he would pay him a certain annual tribute. But 'tis believed, that as soon as this king shall know that Aureng-Zebe is gone from Kachemire, he will laugh at all this treaty, as he did formerly at that which he had made with Shah-Jehan.

This ambassador had in his suite a physician, which was said to be of the kingdom of Lassa; and of the tribe Lamy or Lama, which is that of the men of the law in that country, as the Brahmans, are in the Indies; with this difference, that the Brahmans have no Caliph, or high-

priest, but the Lamians have one that is not only acknowledged for such by the kingdom of Lassa, but also by all Tartary, and who is honoured and revered like a divine person. This physician had a book of receipts, which he would never sell to me; the writing of it seemed, at a distance, somewhat like ours. We made him begin to write the alphabet, but he wrote so slowly, and his writing was so bad in respect of that in his book, that we soon judged this must needs be a poor doctor. He was much wedded to the Metempsychosis or transmigration of souls, and was full of admirable stories of it; among the rest he related of his great Lama, that when he was old and ready to die, he assembled his council, and declared to them, that now he passing into the body of a little child lately born, that this child was bred up with great care, and when it was about six or seven years old, they brought to it store of household-stuff, pel-mel, with his own, and that the child was able to distinguish those that were or had been his, from that of others: which was, said this doctor, an authentic proof of the transmigration. For my part. I thought at first he rallied, but I found at last that he spoke very seriously. I was once to see him at the ambassador's, with a merchant of Kachemire that knew the language of Tibet, and was an interpreter to me. I made as if I would buy some stuff, he had brought to sell, which were some kind of ratines of about a foot and a half broad; but it was really to learn something of that country; yet it was no great matter I obtained from him. He only told me in general, that all the kingdom of the great Tibet was, in comparison to his, a miserable country, full of snow for more than five months of the year; that his king made often war with the Tartars; but he could never distinguish to me, what kind of Tartars they were. At length, after I had made a good many questions to him, without receiving any satisfaction upon them, I saw I lost only my time with him.

But there is another thing, which is so certain, that nobody here doubts of it. It is not yet twenty years that there went caravans every year from Kachemire, which crossed all those mountains of the great Thibet, entered into Tartary and arrived in about three months at Cataja, notwithstanding the very ill ways, and the rapid torrents; which latter are to be passed over cords stretched from one rock to another. These caravans brought back musk, china-wood, rhubarb, and mamiron, which last, is a small root exceeding good for ill eyes. Re-passing over the great Thibet, they also loaded themselves with the merchandise of that country, *vis.*, musk, crystal and jachen; but especially with store of very fine wool of two sorts, one of sheep, and the other called Touz, which is rather, as I have said, a kind of hair approaching to our castor, than a wool. But since the attempt which Shah-Jehan made on that side, the king of the great Thibet has altogether shut up the way, and suffers not any one from Kachemire to enter into his country: and thence it is, that the caravans at present go from Patna upon the Ganges, not passing through his country at all, but leaving it on the left-hand and coming directly to the kingdom of Lassa.

Concerning this kingdom, here called Kacheguer, which doubtless is that which our maps call Kascar, I shall relate to you what I was able to learn of it from the merchants of the country itself, who, knowing that Aurenge-Zebe was to stay a-while at Kachemire, were come thither with a good number of slaves, of both sexes, whom they had to sell. They say, that the kingdom of Kacheguer lyeth east of Kachemire, drawing a little northward; that the shortest way thither was to go directly to the great Thibet; but that passage being obstructed, they were forced to take their way through the little Thibet: that first they went to a small town called Gourtohe, the last town depending from Kachemire, and four days' journey distant from the



same; that from thence, in eight days, they came to Eskerdou, the capital of the king of the little Thibet; and thence in two days more to a small town called Cheker, likewise belonging to the little Thibet, and situate upon a river very famous for being medicinal; that in fifteen days they came to a great forest upon the confines of the little Thibet, and in fifteen days more Kacheguer, a small town, once the seat of the king of Kacheguer, which is now at Jourkend, lying somewhat more to the north, and ten days' journey distant from Kacheguer. They added, that, from the town of Kacheguer to Katay, it is no more but two months' voyage; that every year there go Caravans, bringing back all those commodities I have named, and passing into Persia through Usbeck, as there are others that do pass to Patna in Hindustan. They said moreover, that to go from Kacheguer to Katay, travellers must get to a town that is eight days' journey from Coten, the last town of the kingdom of Kacheguer; that the ways from Kachemire to Kacheguer are very difficult; that among others there is a place, where, in what season soever it be, you must march for about a quarter of a league upon ice. This is all I could learn of those parts, which though indeed it be very much confused and very little, yet will it be found much, considering I had to do both with people so ignorant, that they almost know not to give a reason of any thing; and with interpreters, who for the most part, know not how to make the questions to be understood, nor intelligibly to deliver the answers made thereto.

I thought once, I would have here concluded this letter, or rather this book, and taken my leave of you until I came to Delhi, whither we are now returning: but since I am in the vein of writing, and at some leisure, I shall endeavour to give you some satisfaction to those five particulars you demanded of me in your last letter, in the name of Monsieur Thevenot, that illustrious person, who daily giveth us more

discoveries, without going out of his study, than we have learned of those that have gone round the world.

The first of his demand is; whether it to be, that in the kingdom of Kachewire there are Jews settled there from immemorial times; and if so, whether they have the holy scripture, and if their old testament be altogether conform to ours.

The second is; that I would give you an account of what I have observed touching the Monsons, or the season of the ordinary rains in the Indies.

The third is: that I would give you my observations, and declare to you my thoughts concerning the wonderful regularity of the current of the sea, and the winds in the Indies.

The fourth is: whether the kingdom of Bengal is so fertile, so rich, and so beautiful, as it is said to be?

The fifth is; that I would at length decide unto you the old controversy touching the causes of the increase of the Nile.

*Answer to the first demand, concerning the Jews.*

I should indeed be very glad, as well as M. Thevenot, that there were Jews to be found in the valley of those mountain, who might be such, as I believe he would have them; I mean, of those ten tribes transported by Salmanasser. But you may assume him, that if anciently there have been of them in this place (as there is some reason to believe there were,) there are none of at present, and all the inhabitants of it are now either Gentiles or Mahometans; and that perhaps it is China where they may be found. For I have lately seen, in the hands of our reverend father, one Jesuit of Delhi, some letters of a German Jesuit, written from Pekin, taking notice, that he had there seen some of them that had preserved the Jewish religion, and the Old

Testament, that knew nothing of the death of Jesus Christ, and that they would have even made this Jesuit their Kacan, if he would have foreborne to eat swine's flesh.

Mean time here also are not wanting several marks of Judaism. The first is, that at the entering into this kingdom, after having passed the mountains of Pirepenjale, all the inhabitants I saw in the first villages seemed to me to be Jews in their garb and mein, and in something peculiar; which maketh us often discern nations from one another. I am not the only person that hath had this thought; one father, the Jesuit, and many of our Europeans had the same before me. The second is, that I have observed, that among the meaner sort of the people of the town, though they be Mahometans, yet the [name of Mousa, that is of Moses, is much used. The third, that commonly they say, that Solomon came into their country, and that it was he that cut the mountain of Baramoule to give an outlet to the waters. The fourth, that they say, Moses died at Kachemire, and that his tomb is one league distant from this town. The fifth, that they pretend, that that little and very ancient edifice, which appears from hence upon an high mountain, was built by Solomon, and that thence they call it to this very day the throne of Solomon. So that I would not deny, but that some Jews may have penetrated hither; and that in length of time they may have lost the purity of their law; turned idolators, at last Mahometans. In short, we see store of the Jewish nation that have passed into Persia to Lar, Ishpahan, and also into Indostan, on the side of Goa and Cochin. I have been informed, that there were of them in Æthiopia, gallant and military men, and some of them so considerable and potent, and there was one of them, fifteen or sixteen years ago, and that had attempted to make himself king of a little country of the mountains of a very hard access; if it be true, what two ambassadors of the king of Æthiopia, that were lately in this court, related to me.

*Answer to the second demand, about the stated rains in the Indies.*

The sun is so strong and violent in the Indies all the year long and principally for the space of eight months, that he would burn all, and render the country barren and uninhabitable, if providence had not particularly provided and disposed things in so admirable a way, as in the month of July, when the heats are most volent, rains begin regularly to fall, which continuing for three months together, do temper the earth, and render it very fruitful, and so qualify the air that it may be endured. Yet are not these rains so regular, that they fall always just at the same time ; of which I have made many observations in different places and principally at Dehli, where I lived a long while. The like is found in other countries and there is always some difference in the time from year to year : for sometimes they being or end a fortnight or three weeks sooner, sometimes later ; and there are also some years, in which they are not so plentiful as in others ; insomuch that two years together it did almost not rain at all, which caused much sickness, and great famine. Besides, there is also this difference, in respect of countries different and remote from one another ; that these rains ordinarily begin sooner, or are more plentiful in one than in the other. For example, in Bengal and along the coast of Coromandel, as far as to the isle of Ceilan, they begin and end a month sooner than towards the coast of Malabar : and in Bengal these rains are pouring down for four months, and sometimes continue for eight days and nights together without intermision ; whereas at Dehli and Agra they are never so strong, nor so durable, there passing sometimes two or three whole days without any rain ; and ordinarily the whole morning, from break of day until about nine or ten o'clock, it rains but very little or nothing. But the most considerable difference I have observed, is, that the rains in divers places

come from different quarters of the world ; as about Dehli they come from the east, where lies Bengal ; whereas, on the contrary, in the parts of Bengal and upon the coast of Coromandel, they come from the south ; and upon the coast of Malabar they proceed almost always from the west.

I have also observed another particular, about which they all agree in those parts ; *viz.* That according as the heat of the summer comes sooner or later, is more or less violent, and lasts longer or a shorter time ; the rains also come sooner or later, are more or less plentiful, last or a shorter time.

These observations have given me, ground to believe, that the heat of the earth and the rarefaction of the air must be the principal cause of these rains and draw them ; forasmuch as the air of the seas, which lie near round about the lands, being colder, more condensed and more gross, filled with clouds which the great heats of the summer raise from the waters, and which the winds drive and agitate, dischargeth itself easily upon the land, where the air is hotter, more rarified, in more motion and less resisting than upon the seas, so as that this discharge is more or less tardy and abundant, according as the heat comes sooner and is more violent.

Suitable to the same observations, I was persuaded, that if the rains begin sooner upon the Coast of Coromandel than upon that of Malabar, it is by reason that the summer begins there sooner, it being possible that there it may do so for some particular reasons which perhaps would not be hard to find, if the country were well examined : for we know, that according to the different situation of a land in respect of seas and mountains, and according as it is more sandy, or hilly, or woody, the summer comes there either sooner or later, and with more or less violence.

I am further persuaded, that is no wonder, that the rains come from different quarters : that upon the Coast of

Coromandel, for example, they come from the south and upon that of Malabar from the west; because that in all appearance it must be the nearest seas that send them, and the Coast of Coromandel is nearer to the sea, which lyeth southerly in respect of it, and is more exposed to it, as the Coast of Malabar is to the west of it, lying towards Babel-Mandel, Arabia, and the Gulf of Persia.

Lastly, I have imagined, that if at Delhi, for example, the rains come from the east, it may yet be that the seas which are southerly to it, are the origin of them; but that they are forced by reason of some mountains, or some other lands where the air is colder, more condensed and resisting to turn aside and discharge themselves another way, where the air is more rarified, and where consequently they find less resistance.

I forgot to tell you, that I also observed at Delhi, that there it never rains to purpose, till for many days there have passed store of clouds westward: if it were necessary that those spaces of air which are beyond Delhi westward should be first filled with clouds, and that those clouds finding there some obstacle, as it may be some air less hot and less rarified, and consequently more condensed and more able to resist, or some other contrary clouds and winds repelling them, should become so thick, so burthensome and so heavy, that they must fall down in rain, after the same manner as it often enough falls out, when the wind driveth the clouds against some high mountain

*Answer to the third demand, concerning the regularity of current of the sea, and of the winds in the Indies*

As soon as the rains do cease (which ordinarily comes to pass towards the month of October), it is observed, that the sea taketh its course southward, and that the cold northern wind ariseth. This wind blows for four or five moths without intermission, and without storms, always

keeping the same equality as to its strength and quarter, unless it change or cease a day or so by accident, but then it returns again unto its former place and temper. After that time, for two months or thereabout, the other winds do reign without any rule. These two months being past, which is called the intermediate season, or according to the Hollanders the wavering or changing season, the sea returns back from south to north, and the south wind riseth to reign also in his turn for four or five months, as the current of the sea doth; so that there pass two months of intermediate season; during which navigation is very difficult and dangerous whereas during the two seasons it is very easy, pleasant, and without peril, except it about the end of the season of the south wind. Hence you may find cause not to wonder, if you hear that the Indians, though else very timorous and inexpert in the art of navigation, do notwithstanding make pretty long and considerable voyages; as when they sail from Bengal to Tanassery, Achem, Malaque, Siam and Makassar; or to Maslipatam, Ceilan, the Maldives, Moka, and Bender-Abassy; because they take their time to go with one good season, and to return with the other. 'Tis true, that oft enough they are surprized and cast away; but that is, when they cannot dispatch their affairs in good time, or fail of taking their measure. Our Europeans also do sometimes lose themselves, though they be far better seamen, bolder and more understanding, and their ships, better condition'd and equipp'd.

Of these two intermediate seasons, that which maketh the south-wind is incomparably more dangerous than the other, and much more subject to tempests and storms; and even in the season itself this wind is ordinarily much more impetuous and unequal than that of the north. And here I must not omit to give you a remark, which is, that about the end of the season of the south-wind, during the time of the rain, although there be a great calm out at sea, yet

'tis very tempestuous near the coasts, to the distance of fifteen or twenty leagues, whence the ships of Europe, or others, when they will approach the Indian coasts, for example, of Surat, or Maslipatam, must be very careful of taking their time to arrive just after the rains; or else they run great hazard of being split and lost upon the coast.

This is very near what I could observe of the seasons in these parts; of which I much wish I could give you a good reason. I shall venture to tell you, that it came into my thoughts, first, that the air, which environs the globe of the earth, ought to be esteemed to have a share in it, as also the water of the sea and rivers, for as much as both the one and the other gravitate upon this globe, tend to the same centre of it, and so are in some manner united and fastened to it; so that from these three bodies, the air, the water and the earth, there results, as it were, one great globe. Next, that the globe of the earth being suspended and balanced, as it is, in its place, in that free and unresisted space where the Creator thought good to place it, would be capable to be easily moved, if some adventitious body should come against it and hit it. Thirdly, that the sun having past the line to move towards one of the poles, for example, Arctic, coming to cast its rays that way, maketh there impression enough to depress a little the Arctic pole, and to do that more and more according as it advanceth towards the Tropic; letting it rise again by little and little, according as he returns towards the line, until by the force of his rays he doth the like on the side of the Antartic pole.

If these suppositions, joined to that of the diurnal motion of the earth, were true, it were not, methinks, without reason what is commonly affirmed in the Indies, *vis.*, that the sun conducts and carries with him the sea and wind. For if it be true, that having passed the line to go towards one of the poles, he causeth a change in the direction of



the axis of the earth, and a depression in the pole on that side, the other pole must needs be raised, and that consequently the sea and the air, being two fluid and heavy bodies run down in this inclination; so that it would be true to say, that the sun advancing towards one pole, causeth on that side two great regular currents, *vis.*, that of the sea, and that of the air which maketh the monson wind, as he causeth two opposite ones, when he returns towards the other pole.

Upon this ground, methinks, it might be said, that there are no other but two main opposite fluxes of the sea, one from the side of the pole Arctic, the other from that of the Antarctic; that if there were a sea from one pole to the other, that passed through our Europe, we would see. that there were two currents would there be regular every where, as they are in the Indies, and that that which hinders this regularity of the flux from being general, is, that the seas are intercepted by lands, which impede, break, and vary their course; in like manner as some say, that the ordinary flux and reflux of the sea is hindered in those seas that lie in length, as the Mediterranean both from east and west. And so likewise might it be said upon the same foundation, that there are but two principal opposite winds or fluxes of the air, and that they would be universally regular, if the earth were perfectly smooth and equal, and one part like another every where.

*An answer to the fourth question, concerning the fertility, riches, and beauty of the Kingdom of Bengal.*

All ages have spoken of Egypt, as of the best and fruit-fulest part of the world; and writers will not grant, there is any country compareable to it: but as far as I can see by the two voyages I have made in the kingdom of Bengal, I am of opinion, that that advantage belongs rather to it, than to Egypt. It bears rice in that abundance, that it not only

furnishes its neighbours, but many very remote parts. 'Tis carried up the Ganges to Patna; and 'tis transported by sea to Maslipatam and to many other ports of the coast of Cormandel. Besides, 'tis sent away in the foreign kingdoms, and principally into Ceilon and the Maldives. Further, it also abounds in sugar, so that it furnishes with it the kingdoms of Golkonda Karnates, where there grows but very little. Arabia also and Mesopotamia are thence provided with it, by the way of Moka and Bassora; and Persia itself, by Bander-Abassay. Moreover, Bengal is also the country of good comfits, especially in those places where the Portuguese are, who are dextrous in making them, and drive a great trade with them. They ordinarily make store of those pome-citrons, as we have in Europe; and a certain root, which is longish, like sarsaparrilla, and very delicate; and of that common fruit of the Indies called amba, and of ananas, and the small miribolans, which are excellent; as also of lemons and ginger.

'Tis true, that the country of Bengal yields not so much corn as Egypt; but if that be a defect, it is imputed to its inhabitants that eat very little bread, and much more rice than the Egyptians: yet it always bears what is sufficient for the country, and to afford excellent biscuits, very cheap, for the provision of our European ships, English, Dutch, and Portuguese. You may there have, almost for nothing, those three or four kinds of legumes, which together with rice and butter, are the most usual food of the meaner people. And for a rupy, which is about half a crown, you may have twenty good pullets or more; geese and duck in proportion. There are also kids and sheep in abundance, and such store to Pork, that the Portuguese, settled there and accomstomed to the country, live almost on nothing else but that; and the English and Dutch victual their ships with it. There is also plenty of many sorts of fish, both fresh and salt: and in a word, Bengal is a country abounding in all things; and 'tis for this

very reason, that so many Portugeze, Mesticks, and other Christians are fled thither from those quarters, which the Dutch have taken from them. For the Jesuits and Augustinians, that have great churches there, wherein they exercise their religion with all freedom, did assure me, that in Ogouli alone there were no less than eight or nine thousand souls of Christians; and (which I will easily believe) that in the rest of that kingdom there were above twenty-five thousand. And 'tis this affluence of all those things necessary for life, joined to the beauty and good humour of the women natives, that hath occasioned this proverb amongst the Portugeze, English and Hollanders, viz. that there are an hundred open gates to enter into the kingdom of Bengal, and not one to come away again.

As to the commodities of great value, and which draw the commerce of strangers thither, I know not whether there be a country in the world, that affords more and greater variety; for, besides the sugar I have spoken of, which may be numbered amongst the commodities of value, there is such store of cottons and silks, that it may be said, that Bengal is, as it were, the general magazine thereof, not only for Indostan or the empire of the great Mogol, but also for all the circumjacent kingdoms, and for Europe itself. I have sometimes stood amazed at the vast quantity of cotton cloth of all sorts. fine and others, tinged and white, which the Hollanders alone draw from thence; and transport into many places, especially into Japon and Europe; not to mention what the English; Portugal and Indian merchants carry away from those parts. The like may be said of the silks and silk-stuffs of all sorts; one would not imagine the quantity that is hence transported every year; for this country furnishes generally all this great empire of Mogol, as far as Lahor and Caboul, and most of the other foreign parts, whither cotton cloth is carried. 'Tis true, that these silks are not so fine as those of Persia;

Syria; Sayd and Barnt; but then there is also a great difference in the price; and I know from good hands, that whosoever shall take care of choosing them well, and of getting them well wrought, may have very good stuffs made of them. The Hollanders alone have sometimes seven hundred or eight hundred men of the natives at work in their factory of Kassem-Bazaar; as the English and other merchants have theirs in proportion.

It is also in Bengal, where that prodigious quantity of salt-petre is found, which is so conveniently carried down the river Ganges from Patna, where the English and Dutch load whole ships full for many places of the Indies, and for Europe.

Lastly, 'tis Bengal, whence the good lacca, opium, wax, civet, long pepper do come; and even butter is to be had there in so great plenty, that though it be a gross commodity, yet notwithstanding 'tis thence transported into divers places.

It cannot be denied that air, in regard of strangers, is not so healthy there, especially near the sea; and when the English and Hollanders first came to settle there, many of them died; and I have seen in Belasor two very fine English ships, which having been obliged, by reason of the war of the Hollanders, to stay there above a year, were not able to go to sea, beacuse most of their men were lost. Yet since the time they have taken care and made orders, as well as the Hollanders, that their people shall not drink so much Bouleponges, nor go so often ashore to visit the sellers of arrack and tobacco, and Indian women; and since they have found, that a little wine of Bourdeaux, Canary or Chiras is a marvellous antidote against the ill air, there is not so much sickness amongst them, nor do they now lose so many men. Bouleponge is a certain beverage made of arrack, that is, of strong water, black sugar, with the juice of lemon-water and a little muscadine upon it; which is

pleasant enough to the taste, but a plague to the body and to health.

And to the beauty of the country, you are to know, that all Bengal, taking it near an hundred leagues in length on both sides of Ganges, from Raje-mehale unto the sea, is full of great channels, formerly cut out of the river Ganges with vast labour, reaching far into the country for the conveniency of transporting commodities, and the water itself, which by the Indians is counted the best in the world. These channels are on both sides lined with well peopled villages and burroughs of Gentiles, and the large fields, lying near them, bear abundance of rice, sugar, corn, legumes, mustard, sesamum or oil, small mulberries of two or three foot high, to feed silk worms. But then the vast number of great and small isles that are in the midst of Ganges, and fill all that great space of six or seven days journey, (as there is in some places of this river from one side to the other ; this giveth an incomparable beauty of the country : for, they are very fertile, filled with fruit-bearing trees, Ananas', and all sorts of verdure, and interlaced with a thousand little chanel, which you cannot see the end of, as if they were so many water mails all covered with trees. The worst of it is, that many of these isles that are next the sea, are now abandoned, by reason of those Corsairs, the Franguis of Rakan, elsewhere spoken of ; and that they have at present no other inhabitants but tigers (which sometimes swim over from one island to the other), and gazelles, and hogs, and poultry grown wild. And 'tis upon the account of these tigers, that for people travelling between these little isles in small boats, as usually they do, 'tis dangerous in many places to land ; besides, great care is to be had, that the boat, which in the night is fastened to trees, be not too near the bank ; for there are now and then some men surprized ; and I have heard it said, that tigers have been so bold as to come into the boats, and to carry away men that were asleep, chusing

the biggest and fattest of them, if one may believe the water-men of the country.

I remember, I made once a voyage of ten days, from Pipli to Ogouli, between those isles and channels; which I cannot forbear to relate to you, because there passed not a day without some extraordinary accident. My chaloupe of seven oars was no sooner got out of the river Pipli, and advanced 3 or 4 leauges into the sea along the coast, to gain the isles and channels, but we saw the sea covered with fishes like huge carps, pursued by a shoal of dolphins. I made my men row that way, and saw that most of those fishes lay along the coast as if they were dead; that some advanced a little, others played and tumbled as if they were drunk. We all laboured to take some of them, and we caught 24 with our hands without any difficulty. Viewing them, I observed, that out of all their mouths there came out a bladder (like those that are in carps), which was full of air, and reddish at the end. I imagined easily that this must be the bladder which kept them from sinking; but I could not conceive, why it should thus come out of their mouth, unless it were that they had been long and close pursued by those dolphins, and had made so great an effort to fly away as to make this bladder thus swell, and colour, and to hang out of their mouth. I afterwards told this thing to a hundred seamen, but they could not believe it, and I never found but one Dutch pilot, who told me, that sailing once upon the Coast of China, he had met with the like, and that presently they put out their boat to sea, and took, as I did, with their hands abundance of fishes

The day after, about even, we came among those isles, and after we had looked for a place where 'twas likely no tigers would come, we landed, made a fire, dressed a couple of pullets, and our fish, which was excellent. Presently after supper I made my men row until night, and for fear of losing our way between those channels in the dark,

we retired out of the great channel, and found a good shelter in some small creek, where we fastened our boat to a thick branch of a tree, far enough from the land, for fear of tigers. In the night when I was watching, there fell out a philosophical accident, of which kind two had happened to me before at Delhi. I saw a rain-bow of the moon, which I shewed to all my company, and which very much surprised two Portuguese pilots I had taken into my boat at the desire of a friend, who had neve seen nor heard of such a thing.

The third day we went astray between these channels, and if we had not met with some Portugueses making salt in one of the isles, that directed us in our way, I know not what would have become of us. But behold another philosophical accident. In the night, being got again under shelter in a little channel, my Portugueses that still were concerned about the rainbow of the last night, and whom that observation had made more curious to behold the heavens, awakened me, and shew me another, as fair and well formed as that was, which I had shewed them. Mean time I would not have you think, that I mistook an Iris or rainbow for a Corona, or crown. There is no month almost but at Delhi these lunar rainbows are seen in the season of the rains, when the moon is high above the horizon; and I found that it must be so; having seen of them three or four nights one after another, and sometimes double ones. They were not circles about the moon, but opposite to her, and in the like position with solar rainbows: and as often as I have seen them, the moon was westward, and the rainbow eastward. The moon was also near full; which, in my opinion, is necessary; because at other times she would not have light enough to form any. Lastly, these rainbows were not so white as the crowns use to be, but much more coloured, insomuch that there might be discerned in them some distinction of colours. And thus you see, how I have

been more happy than the ancients, who, according to Aristotle, had observed none such before him.

The fourth day about evening we retired out of the great channel, as we used to do, into a very fair place of safety; but had one of the most extraordinary nights that ever I knew. There was not a breath of wind, and the air was so hot and stuffing that we could scarce breathe. The bushes round us were so full of those little shining worms, that they seemed to be on fire; and there arose fires here and there, which were like flames, and frightened my seamen, who said, they were devils. Among the rest there arose two, that were very extraordinary; one was a great globe of fire, which in falling and spinning lasted above the time of saying a Pater-noster; and the other, which lasted about a quarter of an hour, was like a little tree all in a flame.

The night of the fifth day was terrible and dangerous. There arose so great a storm, that though we were under the shelter of trees, and that our small boat was well fastened, yet notwithstanding all that, the wind broke our cable, and was casting us into the great channel, where we had infallibly perished, if I had not, together with my two Portugueses, presently laid hold on the branches of some trees, where we held fast for above two hours, whilst the storm lasted: for there was no assistance to be expected from my Indian oar-men, whom fright had made incapable to help us in this occasion. But, what was most troublesome and amazing, there fell a rain as if it had been poured down with buckets, which filled our boat, and was accompanied with such lightning and thunder-claps, very near our head, that every moment we thought we should sink.

The remainder of our voyage unto the ninth day, when I arrived at Ogouli, we passed very well and with pleasure; for I could not be satisfied with beholding such beautiful countries: mean time my trunk and all my baggage was



wet, my pullets dead, my fish spoiled and all my bisc it drunk with water.

*Answer to the Fifth Question, about the increase  
of the Nile.*

I do not know, whether I shall acquit myself, in respect of this Fifth Question, as it were to be wished : but I shall faithfully impart to you what I have set down of it, after I had twice observed the Nile's increase, and carefully examined the same, and taken notice withal of some things in the Indies, which have afforded me greater aids for it, than that learned man could have, that hath so ingeniously written of it, though he never saw Egypt but in his study.

I have already said in another place, that at the time when the two ambassadors of Ethiopia were at Delhi, my Agah Danechmend-kan, who is extraordinarily curious, sent often for them, to inform himself, in my presence, of the condition and government of their country ; and one day, amongst other things, we occasioned them to discourse of the source of the Nile, which they call Abbabile ; whereof they spake to us as a thing so known that no body doubted of it, and where one of these ambassadors, and a Mogulian that was returned with him out of Æthiopia, had been in person. They told us, that it taketh its origin in the country of Agaus, and issueth out of the earth at two big bubbling springs, near one another, which form a small lake of about thirty or forty paces long ; that at the coming out of this lake it is then already a pretty river, and that from place to place it receiveth other rivers which enlarge it. They added, that it runs bending, and forming a great peninsula, and that after several Cascade's from steep rocks, it falls into a great lake, which is not about four or five days journey from its source, in the country of Dumbia or Dembea, three little days journey from Gonder, the metropolis of Æthiopia ; that having traversed that lake. it issueth thence swelled with

all the waters that fall there, passeth through Sonnar, the principal city of the King of Funges or Barbaris, tributary to the King of Æthiopia, running on and making the cataracts, and so entering into the plains of Messer which is Egypt.

After we had learned these particularities of the source and course of the Nile, I asked him, (to judge whereabouts the source of the Nile might be) towards which part of the world they believed the country of Dumbia, where is Gonder, to be, in respect of Babel-mandel? But they knew not what to answer to this, but they went always westward; and especially the Mahometan ambassador (who was obliged to know better, and to take more notice of the position of the world, that the Christian, because the Turks are obliged, in saying their prayers to turned themselves towards Macca) did assure me that I was not at all to doubt thereof; which did astonish me very much, because, according to their description, the source of the Nile should be much on this side of the equinoctial, were as all our maps, with Ptolemy, place it a good way beyond it.

We also asked them, at what time it did use to rain in Æthiopia, and whether there were regular seasons of rain as in the Indies; To which they answered, that it rained almost never upon that coast of Red-Sea, from Suaken, Arkiko, and the isle of Masova to Babel-mandel, no more than it doth at Moka, which is on the other side in the Happy Arabia; but that in the heart of the country, in the province of Agaus, and in that of Dumbia and the circumjacent places it rained much for two of the hottest months of the summer, and at the same time when it rained in the Indies; which was also, according to my computation, the very time of the increate of the Nile in Egypt. They say further, that they knew well, it was the rain of Ethiopia, which swelled the Nile, overflowed Egypt, and fertilized the ground of it by the slime it carried upon it; and that

it was even therefore, that the kings of Ethiopia pretended a tribute to be due to them out of Egypt, and that, when the Mahomedan made themselves masters of it, ill-treating the Christians of the country, they had a mind to turn the course of the Nile another way, *viz.*, into the Red Sea, thereby to ruin Egypt and to render it infertile; but that this design miscarried by reason of the great difficulties in effecting the thing.

All these particulars, which I had already learned, when I passed over to Moka, from a dozen merchants, that come there every year in the name of the King of Ethiopia to attend the Indian trading vessels, are considerable to make us judge, that the Nile increaseth not but by the rains which fall without Egypt towards the source of that river: but the particular observations, I have made upon two increases of this river, make them yet more so; for, in reference to all those stories, that are made of it, as, that 'tis on a determined day it begins to increase; that on the first day of its increase there falls a certain dew, which maketh the plague cease, so that nobody dieth any more of it after that hath once fallen; and that there are peculiar and hidden causes of the over-flowing of the Nile: in reference, I say, to these stories, I have found during the said two inundations, that they are, but tales fancid and amplified by the people of Egypt, naturally inclined to superstition, and amused to see a river swell in summer in a country where it rains not; and I have found, that 'tis no otherwise with the Nile than 'tis with other rivers, that swell and overflow by plentiful rains, without any such fermentations of the nitrous soil of Egypt, which some have suggested as the cause thereof.

I have seen it swelled above a foot, and very turbid, near a whole month before that pretended determined day of its increase. I have observed during its increase, and before the channels were opened, that when it had grown for some

days a foot or two, it afterwards decreased little by little, and then began to increase anew, and so went on to increase and decrease without any other measure but that of the rains that fall nigh the source, and, as, is often seen in our river of Loire, according to the fall of more or less rain in the mountains whence it flows, and the days or half-days of fair weather there.

In my return from Jerusalem going up from Damietta to Cairo, I chanced to be upon the Nile about a month before the pretended day of the dew-fall, and in the morning we were all wet of the dew fallen on the night.

I have seen in Rosette at supper with Monsieur de Bermon vice-consul of our nation, eight or ten days after this day of the dewfall, when three persons were struck with the plague, of whom there died, two within eight days, and the third, which was M. de Bermon himself, had perhaps not escaped, if I had not pierced plaguesore; which presently infected myself like others; so that, if I had not forthwith taken some butter of Antimony, I might have been, as well as they, an example of the little certainty there is in the plague after the dew; but this emetic medicine in the beginning of the evil did wonders, and I kept but three or four days within doors, during which, I remember, my Bedouin that served me made no scruple to drink, in my presence, the remainder of my broth, to encourage me, and from his principle of pre-destination, to laugh at the fear we have of the plague. Yet experience shews, that after the day of the dew the plague is commonly not so dangerous as before, but the dew contributes nothing to that; 'tis only in my opinion, that then there is a greater opening of the pores, which gives a vent to the malign and pestiferous spirits, that were shut up in the body.

Moreover, I have carefully enquired of some masters of boats, that had gone up as far as the ends of the plains of Egypt, that is, to the very rocks and cataracts; who assured

me, that when the Nile, did overflow in the plains of Egypt, where that pretended fermenting nitrous earth is, 'tis at the same time much swelled between those mountains of the cataracts, where, in all appearance, there is no such nitrous earth.

Besides, I have made diligent inquiry of those Negroes, of Sonnars, that come to serve at Cairo, and whose country, being tributary to the King of Ethiopia as I have said, lies upon the Nile between the mountains above Egypt; and they have assured me, that at the same time when the Nile is high and overflowing in Egypt, 'tis so also with them by reason of the rains then falling in their mountain, and higher up in the country of Hebeche or Ethiopia.

The observations I have made in the Indies concerning the regular rains that fell at the same time when the Nile swells in Egypt, are also very considerable in this matter, and may make you imagine, that the Indus, Ganges, and all the other rivers of those parts are so many Niles, and the land, that is near their fall into the sea, so many Egypts. This was my thought of it in Bengal, and what follows are the very words I set down about it.

That great number of isles which are found in the gulf of Bengala at the mouth of the river Ganges, and which by lapse of time are joined to one another, and at length with the continent, put me in mind of the mouths of the Nile, where I have observed almost the same thing; so that as 'tis said, after Aristotle, that Egypt is the workmanship of the Nile, it may be said, that Bengal is the work of the Ganges, only with this difference, that as the Ganges is incomparably bigger than the Nile, so he carrieth with him towards the sea a far greater quantity of earth; and so forms greater and more islands than the Nile; and that the islands of Nile are destitute of trees, whereas those of Ganges are all covered with them because of those four mouths of constant and plentiful rains that fall in the heart

of the summer, and render it need'less to cut channels in Bengal, to water and enrich the earth, as they do in Egypt. It is just so with Ganges and the other rivers of Industan, as with the Nile; this and those increase in summer by the means of rain, which ordinarily fall at that time; except that then, and almost never, there are no rains in Egypt; but a little towards the sea, and that it rains not about the source of the Nile; whereas in the Indies it rains in all the countries, through which any rivers pass; except the kingdom of Scymdi towards the Persian Gulf, where is the mouth of the river Indus; it happening that in some years it doth not rain there at all, though for all that the Indus swells there, and the fields are watered by the means of cut channels, just as in Egypt.

For the rest, concerning the desire of M. Thevenot, to impart to you my adventures of the Red Sea, of Suez, of Tor, of Mount Sinai, of Gidda (that pretended holy land of Mahomed, half a day's journey distant from Mecca), as also of the isle of Camarane and Louhaya, and of whatever I could learn at Moka of the kingdom of Ethiopia, and of the most commodious way to enter into it; these particulars, I say, I shall in time draw fair out of my manuscripts, if God permit.

*Some Particulars forgotten to be inserted in my first Book, to perfect the Map of Hindustan, and to know the Revenue of the Great Mogul.*

To understand the better what follows, it is requisite to know the signification of these terms, *viz.*—

1. Soubah, that is government and province.
2. Pragna, that is, the principal town, borough or village that hath many others depending from it, where rents are paid to the King, who is absolute lord of all the land of his empire.
3. Sērkar, that is the exchequer of the King's treasure.

4. Kazine, that is, treasure.
5. Roupie; the money of the country, equivalent to 29 or 30 pence.
6. Lecque, that is, a hundred thousand Roupies.
7. Courour, that is a hundred Lecques.

1. Jehan-Abad, or Delhi, is the first Soubah; it hath Sixteen Serkars in its dependance, and 230 Pragna's; it yields to the King nineteen millions and five hundred and twenty-five thousand Roupies.

2. Agra, otherwise called Akbar-abad, is the Second. It hath 14 Serkars, and 260 Pragna's yielding to the King twenty-five millions two hundred and twenty-five thousand Roupies.

3. Lahore hath 14 Serkars, and 314 Pragna's, bringing into the King rent of twenty-five millions six hundred ninety-five thousand Roupies.

4. Hasmer, which belongs to a Raja, yields to the King, a tribute of twenty-one millions nine hundred and seventy thousand Roupas.

5. Guzarate, the capital whereof is Amadavad, hath 9 Serkars, and 190 Pragnas; yielding to the King thirteen millions three hundred and ninety-five thousand Roupies.

6. The kingdom of Kandahar belongs to the King of Persia; but the Pragna's that remain united to the Crown of the Great Mogul, are 15 and yield in rent 1,992,500 Roupies.

7. Malona hath 9 Serkars, and 190 Pragna's; bringing in 91,52,500 Roupies.

8. Patna, or Beara, hath 8 Serkars, and payeth the rent of 95,80,000 Roupies.

9. Elabas hath seventeen Serkars, and 260 Pragna's rend'ing 9,470,000 Roupies.

10. Haond hath 5 Serkars, and 149 Pragna's: *i. e.*, yields 6,430,000 Roupies.

11. Moultan hath 4 Serkars, and 96 Pragna's ; brings in 11,840,500 Roupies.

12. Jagannat, in which is comprehended Bengali, hath 11 Serkars, and 12 Pragnas, it yields 7,270,000 Roupies.

13. Kachemire hath 5 Serkars, and 45 Pragna's ; yields 350,000 Roupies.

14. Caboul hath 35 Pragna's and brings in 3,272,500 Roupies.

15. Tata hath 4 Serkars and 54 Pragna's and giveth 2,320,000 Roupies.

16. Aureng-abad, formerly Daulet-abad hath 8 Serkars, and 79 Pragna's : yields 17,227,500 Roupies.

17. Varada hath 20 Serkars and 191 Pragna's ; yielding 15,875,000 Roupies.

18. Candays, where principal town is Brampour, hath 3 Serkars, and 103 Pragna's ; it brings in 18,550,000 Roupies.

19. Talengand, which borders upon the kingdom of Golkonda on the side of Masalipatan, hath 43 Pragna's, and payeth in rent 6,885,000 Roupies.

20. Baganala, on the confines of the lands of the Portugueses, and the mountains of Sevagi (that Raja which plundered 'Suratte), hath 2 Serkars, and 8 Pragna's ; paying the rent of 500,000 Roupies.

According to these particulars, which, I take not to be the most exact or the most true, the great Mogul's yearly revenue of his lands alone would amount to about two *Kourours* of Roupies.

#### THE FINISH.





# BERNIER'S VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES.

## PART II.

*A Letter to the Lord Colbert, of the Extent of Hindustan ; the Circulation of Gold and Silver, coming at length to be swallowed up there as in an Abyss ; the Riches, Forces, Justice, and the principal Cause of the Decay of the States of Asia.*

SINCE, it is the custom of Asia, never to approach very great persons with empty hands, when I had the honour to kiss the vest of the Great Mogul, Aureng-Zebe, I presented him with eight rupees\* as an expression of respect ; and the illustrious Fuzel Khan, the prime-minister of state, and he that was to establish my pension as physician, with a case of knives garnished with ambar. My lord though I intend not to introduce new customs in France, yet I cannot forget this upon my return from those parts ; being persuaded, that I ought not to appear before the King, for whom I have a far deeper veneration than for Aureng xebe, nor before you my Lord, for whom I have a much greater esteem than for Fazal-Khan, without some little present to both, which is rare at least for its novelty, though it be not so upon the account of the presenting hand. The revolution of Industan by reason of its extraordinary occurrences and events, hath to me seemed worthy of the greatness of our monarch and this discourse, for the quality of the matters therein contained, suitable to the position you hold in his councils ; to that conduct, which at my return appeared to me so admirable in the order, which I found settled in so many things, that I

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\* A rupee is about half a Crown.

thought incapable of it ; and to the parlion you entertain to make it known to the ends of the earth, what a monarch we have, and that the French are fit to undertake, and with honour to achieve, whatsoever you shall have designed for their honour and advantage.

It is in the Indies, my Lord, (whence I am lately returned after twelve years absence) where I learned the felicity of France, and how much this kingdom is obliged to your cares ; and where your name is so diffused, and so well-known. This was a fair theme for me to enlarge upon ; but my design being no other than to discourse of things new, I must forbear to speak of those that are already so notorious to all the world, I shall doubtless please you better by endeavouring to give you some idea of the state of the Indies, which I have engaged myself to give you an account of.

My Lord, you may have seen before this, by the maps of Asia, how great every way is the extent of the empire of the Great Mogul, which is commonly called India or Hindusthan. I have not measured it mathemetically ; but to speak of it according to the ordinary journeys of the country, after the rate of three whole months' march, traversing from the frontiers of the kingdom of Golkonda, as far as beyond Kazni near Kandahar, which is the first town of Persia, I cannot persuade myself otherwise, but that it is at least five times as far as, from Paris to Lyons, that is about five hundred common leagues.

Next, you may please to take notice, that of that vast extent of land, there are large countries that are very fertile, and some of them to that degree for example, that whole great kingdom of Bengal,) that they exceed those of Egypt not only upon the account of the abundance of rice, corn, and all other things necessary for life, but also upon the force of all those commodities so considerable, which Egypt is

destitute of, as silks, cottons, indigo, and so many others sufficiently related by authors.

Moreover, that of these same countries there are many that are well enough peopled and cultivated, and where tradesmen, though naturally very lazy there, are not wanting either from necessity or other causes to apply themselves to work, as to tapissaries, embroiderien, cloth of gold and silver and to all those kinds of silk and cotton manufactures that are used in the country, or transported to other parts.

You may further observe, how that gold and silver, circulating as it were upon the earth, comes at last to be swallowed up in this Hindusthan. For of that which comes out of America, and is dispersed through the several kingdoms of our Europe, we know, that one part is carried into Turkey many ways, for the commodities drawn thence; and that another part is conveyed into Persia, by the way of Smyrna, for the silks afforded there; that all Turkey generally needs coffee, which comes out of Hyemen or Happy Arabia and is the common drink of the Turks; that the same Turkey as well as Hyeman and Persia can not be without the commodities of India; and that thus all those couplet art obliged to carry Moka over the Red Sea, near Babelmendebe; and to which the utmost part of the Persian Gulf; and to Bandar-Abbasi, or Gomoron, thus, a part of that gold and silver, that had been brought into their countries and thence transported into Hindusthan, in vessels that yearly, in the season of the winter come profusely to those three famous parts; that on the other hand, all those that of India whether they be Indian ones, or Dutch, or English, or Portuguese, that yearly act as transport merchants out of Hindusthan to Pegu, Tanasseri, Siam, Ceilan. Achem. Mincasser, the Maldives, Ambic, and other places, bring back also much gold and silver from all those countries, which meets with the same destiny, that the other doth; that of that quantity of gold and silver which the Hollanders drew from Japan

(which is stored from the mines) a part also comes to be at length discharged in this Hindusthan : and that lastly what is carried thither directly by sea whether from Portugal, England, or France, seldom come back from thence but in merchandise, the rest remaining there, as the former.

I very well know, that it may be said, that this Hindusthan needs copper, cloves, nutmegs, cinnamon, elephants and sundry other things, which the Hollanders carry thither from Japan, the Molucques, Ceilan, and Europe ; as also that it hath occasion for lead, which in part it is furnished with out of England ; likewise for scarlet, which it hath from France ; moreover, that it stands in need of a good number of horses, it being certain, that from the side of Usbec it receives yearly more than two thousand five hundred. That out of Persia also it is furnished with abundance of the same ; as also out of Ethiopia, Arabia, the ports of Moka, Bassora, and Bander-Abbasi : besides that it needs that store of fresh fruit, which comes thither from Samarkan, Ballbootra, and Persia, as melons, apples, pears, and grapes, that are spent at Delhi, and bought at great rates, almost all the winter long as well as dry fruit, which are had there all the year long, and came from the same countries, as almonds, pistaches, nuts, prunes, apricots, raisins, and the like ; and that lastly, it wants those little sea cockels of the Maldives which serve for common coin in Bengal, and in some other places ; as also amber-grease, carried thither from the said Maldives and Mosambic, rhinoceros, horns, elephant's teeth, musk, China dishes, pearls of Baharen, and Tutucoury near Ceilan ; and I know not of how many other things of this kind.

But all this makes not the gold and silver to go out of that empire, because the merchants at their return freight their ships with the commodities of the country, finding a better account of so doing, than if they should bring back money ; so that that hinders not, but that Hindustan proves as we have said, a kind of abyss for a great part of the gold

and silver of the world, which finds many ways to enter there, and almost none to issue thence.

In a word, you may take notice, that this Great Mogul makes himself heir of the Omrahs or lords, and of the Munseeb-dar, or petty lords, that are in his pay ; and which is of very great consequence that all the lands of that empire are his property, excepting some houses and gardens which he giveth leave to his subjects to sell, divide, or buy amongst them, as they shall think fit.

There are things, which sufficiently show, both that there must needs be a very great store of gold and silver in Hindustan, though there be no mines, and also that the Great Mogul, the sovereign of the same, at least of the best part of it, has immense revenues and riches.

But on the other hand, there are also many things to be observed, which are a poise to these riches. The first, that among those vast tracts of land there is much, which is nothing but sand and sterile mountains, little tilled or peopled ; that even of those that would be fertile, there is much, that is not used for want of workmen, some of which have perished by the too evil treatment of the governors, who often take from them their necessary livelihood, and sometimes their very children whom they make slaves when they are not able, or are unwilling to pay : others have abandoned the field for the same reason, and desponding out of the consideration that they laboured only for others, have cast themselves into towns or into armies, to serve there for porters, or waiting men, and many have fled to the lands of the Rajas, because there they found less tyranny, and more kindness.

The second is, that in this same extent of country there are sundry nations, which the Mogul is not full master of, most of them retaining yet their particular soveriegn and lords, that obey him not, nor pay him tribute but from constraint ; many that do little, some that do nothing at all ;

and some also, that receive tribute from him, as we shall see anon. Such are those petty sovereigns, that are seated on the frontiers of Persia, who almost never pay him any thing, no more than they do to the King of Persia ; as also the Balouches and Afgans and other mountaineers, of whom also the greatest part pay him but a small matter, and even care but very little for him : witness the affront they did him, when they stopped his whole army by cutting off the water, which they kept back within the mountains, when he passed from Atek on the river Indus to Caboul, to lay siege to Kandahar ; not suffering the water to run down into the fields, where was the high way, till they had received presents, although they asked them by way of alms. Such also are the Patans, a Mahometan people, issued from the side of the river Ganges towards Bengal ; who before the invasion of the Moguls in India, had taken their time to make themselves potent in many places, and chiefly at Delhi, and to render many Rajas thereabout their tributaries. These Patans are fierce and warlike, and even the meanest of them, though they be waiting men and porters, are still of a very high spirit, being often heard to say by way of swearing, let me never be king of Delhi, if it be not so : a people that despite the Indians, as heathens, and Moguls, as Moguls, and mortally hate the last, still remembering what they were formerly, before they were by them driven from their principalities. and constrained to retire hither and thither, far from Delhi and Agra, into the mountains, where now they are settled, and where some of them have made themselves petty sovereigns, like Rajas, but of small strength.

Such an one also is the King of Vizapour, who pays to the Mogul nothing, and is always in war with him ; maintaining himself in his country, partly by his own forces, partly because he is very remote from Agra and Dehli, the ordinary places of residence of Great Mogul ; partly also because his capital city Vizapour is strong and of difficult

access to an army, by reason of the ill waters and the want of forage on the way ; and partly because many Rajas join with him for their common defence, as did the famous Sevâji, who not long since came pilaging and burning that rich sea-port Surat, and who sometimes will pay little or no tribute.

Such is likewise that potent and rich King of Golkonda, who under-hand gives money to the King of Vizapour, and has always an army on the frontiers for his own defence, and for the assistance of Vizapour, in case he find him too much pressed.

Of the like sort are more than an hundred Rajas, or considerable heathen sovereigns, dispersed through the whole empire, some near to, other remote from Agra and Delhi ; amongst whom there are about fifteen or sixteen that are very rich and puissant ; such as is Rana, who formerly was, as it were, emperor of the Rajas, and who is said to be of the progeny of King Porus) ; Jesseigne, and Jessomseigne, which are so great and powerful, that if they three alone should combine, they would hold him tack ; each of them being able, in a very short time, to raise and bring into the field twenty-five thousand horse, better troops than the Moguls. These cavaliers are called Rajpots, or the children of the Rajas. They are men, who, I have elsewhere said, carry swords from father to son, and to whom the Rajas allot land, on condition to be always ready to appear on horseback, when the Raja commands. They can endure much hardship, and they want nothing to make them good soldiers, but good order and discipline.

The third thing to be noted is that the Moghul is a Mahomedan, not of the sect called Shias, who follow Aly and his offspring (such as the Persians are, and consequently the greatest part of the country) ; but of that which follows Osman, and thence are called Osmanlys, such as the Turks are. Besides, that he is a stranger, being of the race of



Tamerlane, who was the head of those Moguls, that about the year 1401, over-ran India, where they made themselves masters : so that he is in a country almost all hostile ; and that the more, because not only for one Mogul, but in general, for one Mahomedan, there are hundreds of Gentiles, or heathens ; which obligeth him, constantly to entertain (for his defence among so many domestic and potent enemies and against the Persians and Usbecs, his neighbours,) very great armies, whether in time of peace or war, as well about his person as in the field ; as well of the people of the country, (Rajas and Pathans,) as chiefly Mogulians, or at least esteemed such because they are white, and Mahomedans ; which sufficeth at present, his court being no more now as it was at first, consisting altogether of true Moguls ; but a mixture of all sorts of strangers, Usbecs, Persians, Arabians, and Turks, or their children ; but with this distinction, that the children of the third or fourth generation, and that have taken the brown colour, and the soft humour of the country, are not so much esteemed as the new-comers, being also seldom raised to public offices ; but counting themselves happy, if they may serve as simple horsemen or foot.

Of these armies I am now going to give you some description, that thereby knowing the great expences which the Great Mogul is obliged to be at, you may be better judge of his true riches ; let us first take a view of the field militia he is necessitated to maintain.

The chief thereof are the Rajas, such as Jesseigne, Jes-somseigne, and many others, to whom he allow very great pensions to have them always ready with a certain number of Rajputs. esteeming them like Omrahs, that is, like other strangers, and Mahomedan lords ; both in the army, that he always has about his person, and in those also, that are in the field. These Rajas are generally obliged to the same things that they keep not the guard within fortress, as those, but

say, out of policy, to make himself beloved by the Christians, who are pretty numerous in his artillery ; but above all, to gain the affection of the Rajas or sovereign Gentiles that were tributary to the empire, and to make them of his party upon occasion. Mean time, this hath not much furthered his affairs ; on the contrary, it will appear in the sequel of this history, that the pretence used by Aurang-Zebe, his third brother, to cut off his head, was, that he was turned to Kafer, that is to say, an infidel, of no religion, an idolater.

Sultan Sujah, the second brother, was much of the humour of Dara, but he was more close and more settled. and had better conduct and dexterity. He was fit to manage an intrigue well, and he made, underhand, friends by the force of presents, which he heaped upon the great Omrahs, and principally upon the most powerful Rajas, as Jessom-seigne, and some others ; but he did somewhat too much indulge his pleasures, in entertaining an extraordinary number of women, among whom he spent whole days and nights in drinking, singing, and dancing. He made them presents of very rich apparel, and he increased or lessened their pensions according as the fancy took him ; by which kind of life his affairs did languish, and the affections of many of his people cooled. He cast himself into the religion of the Persians ; also Shah-Jehan, his father and all his brothers, were of the Turkish.

'Tis known that Mahometanism is divided into several sects, which made that famous Check-Sady, author of the Goulistan, say in verse, which is to this effect in prose : "I am a dervish drinker, I seem to be without religion, and I am known of sixty-two sects." But of all those sects there are two principal ones, whose partizans are mortal enemies to one another. The one is that of the Turks, whom the Persians call Osmantous, that is, sectators of Osman ; they believing that 'tis he that was the true and

lawful successor of Mahomet, the great caliph or sovereign priest, to whom alone it did appertain to interpret the Alcoran, and to decide the controversies to be met with in the law. The other is that of the Persians whom the Turks call Chias, Rasezys, Aly-Merdans, that is, sectaries, heretics, partizans of Aly, because they believe, contrary to the belief of the Turks, that this succession and pontifical authority, which I just now intimated, was due only to Aly, the son-in-law of Mahomet. It was by reason of state that Sultan Sujah had embraced this latter sect, considering that all the persians being Chias, and most of them, or their children, having the greatest power at the court of Mogul, and holding the most important places of the empire, he had most reason to hope, that, when occasion served, they would all take his part.

Aurang-Zebe, the third brother, had not that gallantry, nor surprising presence of Dara ; he appeared more serious and melancholy, and was indeed much more judicious, understanding the world very well, and knowing whom to choose for his service and purpose, and where to bestow his favour and bounty most for his interest. He was reserved, crafty, and exceedingly versed in dissembling ; inso-much that for a long while he made profession to be fakir, that is, poor, dervise, or devout, renouncing the world, and feigning not to pretend at all to the crown, but to desire to pass his life in prayer and other devotions. In the mean time he failed not to make a party at court, especially when he was made Vice-King of Decan ; but he did it with so much dexterity, art, and secrecy, that it could hardly be perceived. He also had the skill to maintain himself in the affection of Shah-Jehan his father, who, although he much loved Dara, could not forbear to shew that he esteemed Aurang-Zebe, and judged him capable to reign ; which caused jealousy enough in Dara, who began to find it insomuch that he could not hold from saying sometimes to

his friends in private ; "Of all my brothers, I apprehend only this Nemazi," that is, this bigot, this great praying man.

Morad-Bakche, the youngest of all, was the least dextrous, and the least judicious. He cared for nothing but mirth and pastime, to drink, hunt and shoot : yet he had some good qualities, for he was very civil and liberal ; he gloried in it that he kept nothing secret ; he despised cabals, and he bragged openly, that he trusted only in his arms and sword. In short, he was very brave, and if this bravery had been accompanied with some conduct, he would have carried the bell from all his brothers, and been King of Hindusthan ; as will appear in what is to follow.

Concerning the two daughters, the eldest, Begum-Saheb, was very beautiful, and a great wit, passionately beloved of her father. It was even rumoured, that he loved her to that degree as is hardly to be imagined, and that he alledged for his excuse, that, according to the determination of his Mullahs, or doctors of his law, it was permitted a man to eat of the fruit of the tree he had planted. He had so great a confidence in her, that he had given her charge to watch over his safety, and to have an eye to all that came to his table ; and she knew perfectly to manage his humour, and even in the most weighty affairs to bend him as she pleased. She was exceedingly enriched by great pensions, and by costly presents, which she received from all parts, for such negotiations as she employed herself in about her father ; and she made also great expences, being of a very liberal and generous disposition. She stuck entirely to Dara, her eldest brother, espoused cordially his part, and declared openly for him ; which contributed not a little to make the affairs of Dara prosper, and to keep him in the affection of his father ; for she supported him in all things, and advertise him of all occurrences : yet that was not so much because he was the eldest son, and she the eldest daughter (as the people believed), as because he had promised her, that as

soon as he should come to the crown he would marry her ; which is altogether extraordinary, and almost never practised in Hindusthan.

I shall not scruple to relate here some of the amours of this Princess, although shut up in a seraglio, and well kept, like other women ; neither shall I apprehend that I may be thought to prepare matter for a romancer ; for they are not amours like ours, followed by gallant and comical adventures, but attended with events dreadful and tragical.

Now it is reported, that this Princess found means to let a young gallant enter the seraglio, who was of no great quality, but proper, and of a good mein ; but among such a number of jealous and envious persons, she could not carry on her business so privily but she was discovered. Shah-Jehan, her father, was soon advertized of it, and resolved to surprize her, under the pretence of giving her a visit, as he used to do. The Princess seeing him come unexpected had no more time than to hide this unfortunate lover in one of the great chaldrons made to bathe in ; which yet could not be so done, but that Shah-Jehan suspected it. Mean time he quarrelled not with his daughter, but entertained her a pretty while, as he was wont to do ; and at length told her that he found her in a careless and less neat posture ; that it was convenient she should wash herself and bathe oftener, commanding presently, with somewhat a stern countenance, that forthwith a fire should be made under that chaldron, and he would not part thence before the eunuch had brought him word that that unhappy man was dispatched. Some time after she took other measures : she chose for her Kanesaman, that is her steward, a certain Persian called Nazer-khan, who was a young Omrah, the handsomest and most accomplished of the whole court, a man of courage and ambition, the darling of all ; insomuch that Shah-Hest-khan proposed Aurang-Zebe, to marry him to the Princess ; but Shah-Jehan received that proposition very ill ; and

besides, when he was told of some of the secret intrigues that had been formed, he resolved quickly, to rid himself of Nazer-Khan. He therefore presented to him, as it were to do him honour, a betele which is a little knot made up of very delicate leaves, and some other things, with a little chalk of sea-cockles, which maketh the mouth and lips of a vermilion colour, and the breath sweet and pleasing. This young lord thought of nothing less than being poisoned; he went away from the company very jocund and content into his Palkey but the drug was so strong, that before he could come to his house he was no moae alive.

Rauchenara-Begum never passed for so handsome and spiritual as Begum-Saheb, but she was not less cheerful, and comely enough, and hated pleasures no more than her sister; but she addicted herself wholly to Aurang-Zebe, and consequently declared herself an enemy to Begum-Saheb and Dara. This was the cause that she had no great riches, nor any considerable share in the affairs of the state. Nevertheless, as she was in the seraglio, and wanted to wit and spics, she could not but discover many important matters, of which she gave secret advertisement to Aurang-Zebe. Shah-Jehan, some years before the troubles, finding himself charged with these four Princes, all come of age all married, all pretending to the crown, enemies to one another, and each of them making secretly a party, was perplexed enough to what was fittest for him to do; fearing danger to his own person, and foreseeing what afterwards befel him: for, to shut them up in Gowalior, which is a fortress where the Princes are ordinarily kept close, and is held impregnable, it being situated upon an inaccessible rock, and having within itself good water, and provision enough for a garrison; that was not so easy a thing: they were too potent already, each of them having a princely train. And again he could handsomely remove them far off without giving them some government fit for their birth;

where in he apprehended they would cantonize themselves, and become little independent kings, as actually they afterwards did. Nevertheless, fearing lest they should cut one another's throat before his eyes, if he kept them still at court, he at last concluded to send them away : and so he sent Sultan Sujah, his second son, into the kingdom of Bengal ; his third Aurang-Zebe, into Decan ; and the youngest, Morad-Bhkche, to Guzerat ; giving to Dara, the eldest, Cabal and Multan. The three first went away very well content with their government ; and there they acted each the sovereign, and retained all the revenues of their respective countries, entertaining great troops, under the pretence of bridling their subjects and neighbours.

As to Dara, because the eldest, and designed to the crown, he stirred not from the court ; which that he should not do, seemed also to be the intention of Shah-Jehan, who entertained him in the hopes of succeeding him after his death. He even permitted then, that orders were issued out by him, and that he might sit in a kind of throne, beneath his, among the Omrahs ; so that it seemed, as if there were two kings together. But as it is very difficult for two sovereigns to agree Shah-Jehan, though Dara shewed him great observance and affection, always harboured some diffidence, bearing above all things the Morsel ; and besides, for as much as he knew the parts of Aurang-Zebe, and thought him more capable to reign than any of the rest, he had always (as they say) some particular correspondence with him.

This it is what I thought fit to permise concerning these four princes, and their father Shah-Jehan, because it is necessary for the understanding of all that follows. I esteemed also, that I was not to forget those two Princesses, as having been the most considerable actors in the tragedy ; the woman in the Indies taking very often as well as at Constantinople and in many other places, the best part in the most important transactions, though men seldom take

notice of it, and trouble their heads of seeking for other causes.

But to deliver this history with clearness, we must rise somewhat higher, and relate what passed some time before the troubles, between Aurang-Zebe, the King of Golconda, and his visier Emir-Jemla ; because this will discover to us the character and temper of Aurang-Zebe, who is to be the hero of this piece, and the King of the Indies. Let us then see after what manner Emir-Jemla proceeded to lay the first foundation of the royalty of Aurang-Zebe

During the time that Aurang-Zebe was in Decan, the King of Golconda, had for his visier and general of his armies this Emir-Jemla, who was a Persian by nation, and very famous in the Indies. He was not a man of great extraction, but beaten in business, a person of excellent parts and a great captain. He had the wit of amassing great treasures, not only by the administration of the affairs of this opulent kingdom, but also by navigation and trade, sending ships into very many parts, and causing the diamond mines which he alone had farmed under many borrowed names to be wrought with extraordinary diligence. So that people discoursed almost of nothing but of the riches of Emir-Jemla, and of the plenty of his diamonds, which were not reckoned but by sacks. He had also the skill to render himself very potent and considerable, entertaining, besides the armies of the King, very good troops for his particular, and above all a very good artillery, with abundance of Franguys or Christians to manage it. In a word he grew so rich, and so puissant, especially after he had found a way to enter into the kingdom of Karnates, and to pillage all the ancient churches of the idols of that country, that the King of Golconda became jealous of it, and prepared himself to unsaddle him ; and that the more because he could not bear what was reported of him, as if he had used too great familiarity with the Queen, his mother, that was yet beauteous,



Yot he discovered nothing of his design to any, having patience, and waiting till Amir came to the court, for he was then in the kingdom of Karnates with his army. But one day, when more particular news was brought him of what had passed between his mother and him, he had not power enough to dissemble any longer, but was taansported by choler to fall to invectives and menaces ; whereof Amir was soon made acquainted, having at the court abundance of his wife's kindred, and all his nearest relations and best friends possessing the principal offices. The King's mother also, who did not hate him, had speedy information of the same ; which obliged Amir, without delay, to write to his only son Mahmet-Amir-Khan, who then was about the King, requiring him to do the best he could to withdraw with all speed from the court, under some pretence of hunting or the like, and to come and join with him. Mahmet-Amir-Khan failed not to attempt divers ways ; but the king causing him to be narrowly observed, none of them all would succeed. This very much perplexed Amir, and made him take a strange resolution, which cast the King in great danger to lose his crown and life ; so true it is, that he who knows not to dissemble, knows not how to reign. He write to Aurang-Zebe, who was then in Daulet-Abad, the capital of Decan, about fifteen or sixteen days' journey from Golconda, giving him to understand, that the King of Golconda did intend to ruin him and his family, notwithstanding the signal services he had done him, as all the world knew ; which was an unexampled injustice and ingratitude : that this necessitated him to take his refuge to him, and to entreat him, that he would receive him into his protection ; that for the rest, if he would follow his advice, and confide in him, he would so dispose affairs, that he would at once put into his hands both the King and kingdom of Golconda. This thing he made very easy, using the following discourse : "You need but take four or five thousand horse, of the best of your army,

and to march with expedition to Golconda, spreading a rumour by the time, that it is an ambassador of Shah-Jehan that goes in haste, about considerable matters, to speak with the King at Bag-nagar." The Dabir, who is he that is first to be addressed unto, to make any thing known unto the King, is allied to me and my creature, and altogether mine; take care of nothing but to march with expedition, and I will so order it, that without making you known, you shall come to the gates of Bag-nagar: and when the King shall come out to receive the letters, according to custom, you may easily seize on him, and afterwards of all his family, and do with him what shall seem good to you, in regard that his house of Bag-nagar, where he commonly resides, is unwall'd and unfortified. He added, that he would make this enterprize upon his own charges, offering him fifty thousand rupees a day (which is about five-and twenty thousand crowns, during the whole time of the march

Aurang-Zebe, who looked only for some such occasion, had no mind at all to lose so fair a one. He soon undertook the expedition, and did so fortunately manage his enterprize that he arrived at Bag-nagar without being otherwise known than as an ambassador of Shah-Jehan. The King of Golconda being advertised of the arrival of this pretended ambassador, came forth into a garden, according to custom received him with honour, and having unfortunately put himself into the hands of his enemy, ten or twelve slaves, gurgis, were ready to fall upon and to seize his person, as had been projected; but that a certain Omrah, to shed with tenderness, could not forbear to cry out, though he was of the party, and creature of Amir, "Doth not Your Majesty see that this is Aurang-Zebe? Away, or you are taken." Whereat the King being afrighted, slips away, and gets hastily on horseback, riding with all his might to the fortress of Golconda, which is but a short league from thence.

Aurang-Zebe, seeing he was defeated in his design, yet

was not therefore discomposed ; but seized at the same time on the royal house, taketh all the rich and good things he finds there ; yet sending to the King all his wives, (which over all the Indies is very religiously observed , and goeth to besiege him in his fortress. But as the seige, for want of having brought along all necessaries, held on long and lasted above two months, he received order from Shah-Jehan to raise it and to retire into Decan again ; so that, although the fortress was reduced to extremities, for want of victuals and ammunition of war, he found himself obliged to abandon his enterprize. He knew very well, that it was Sahzadi Begum that had induced Shah-Jehan to send these orders, from the apprehension they entertained that he would become too powerful ; but in the mean time he never discovered any resentment of it, saying only that he ought to obey the orders of his father. Yet he withdrew not, without causing underhand payment to be made to him of all the charges of his expedition : besides, he married his son Sultan Mahmoud to the eldest daughter of that King with a promise that he would make him his successor, causing him also to give him for a dowry the fortress and the appurtenances of Bamguyre. He also made the King consent, then all the silver money that should be coined for the future in that kingdom, should bear on the side the arms of Shah-Jehan ; and that Amir-Jemla should withdraw, with his whole family, all his goods, troops, and artillery.

These two great men were not long together but they framed great designs. On the way they besieged and took Bider, one of the strongest and most important places of Visapour ; and thence they went to Daulet-Abad, where they contracted so intimate a friendship together, that Aurang-Zebe could not live without seeing Amir twice a day, nor Amir without seeing Aurang-Zebe. Their union began to cause a new face in all the affairs of those parts and laid the first foundations of the royalty of Aurang-Zebe.

This Prince having used the art to make himself to be called to the court divers times, went with great and rich presents to Agra to Shah-Jehan, presenting him his service and inducing him to make war against the King of Golconda and him of Visapore, and against the Portugeze. At first he presented to him that great diamond, which is esteemed matchless; giving him to understand, that the precious stones of Golconda were quite other things than those recks of Kandahar; that there it was where the war ought to be made, to get the possession thereof, and to go as far as Cape Comery. Shah-Jehan, whether it were that he was dazzled by the diamonds of Bmir, or whether he thought it fit, as some believe he did, to have an army in the field, some what to restrain Dara, whom he found active in making himself potent, and who with insolence had ill-treated the visier Sadullah-Khan, (whom Shah-Jehan passionately loved and considered as the greatest statesman that had been in the Indies,) causing him even to be made away with poison, as a man not of his party, but inclined to Sultan Sujah; or rather, because he found him too powerful, and in a condition to be the umpire of the crown, if Shah Jehan should decease; or lastly because being neither Persian, nor of Persian extraction, but an Indian, there were not wanting envious persons, who spread abroad, that he entertained in divers places numerous troops of Pathans, very gallant men, and well paid, with a design to make himself King, or his son; or at least to expel the Moguls, and to restore to the throne the nation of the Pathans, of whom he had taken his wife. However it be, Shah-Jehan resolved to send an army towards Decan, under the conduct of Amir-Jemla.

Dara, who saw the consequence of this affair, and that the sending of troops for those parts was to give strength to Aurang-Zebe, opposed it exceedingly, and did what he could to hinder it. Nevertheless, when he saw that Shah-Jehan was resolute for it. he at last thought it best to con-

sent; ;but with this condition, the Aurang-Zebe should keep in Daulat-Abad, as governor only of the country, with out meddling at all in the war, or pretending to govern the army; that Amir should be the absolute general who for a pledge of his fidelity, was to leave his whole family at the court. Amir struggled enough within himself, whether he should agree to this last condition, but when Shah Jehan desired him to give that satisfaction to Dara, and promised him, that after a little while he would send him back to his wife and children, he consented, and marched into Decan towards Aurang-Zebe with a very gallant army, and without any stop entered into Visapore, where he besieged a strong place called Kaliane.

The affairs of Hindusthan were in that condition, as I have been relating, when Shah-Jehan fell dangerously sick. I shall not speak here of his sickness, much less relate the particulars of it: I shall only say this, that it was little suitable to a man of above seventy years of age, who should rather think on preserving his strength, then to ruin it as he did. This sickness did soon alarm and trouble all Hindusthan. Mighty armies were levied in Delhi and Agra, the capitals of the empire. Sultan Sujah did the like in Bengal; and Aurang-Zebe in Decan; and Morad-Bakchejin Guzerat: all four assembled to themselves their allies and friends; all four write, promise, and form divers intrigues. Dara having surprised some of their letters, shewed them to Shah-Jehan, and made great noise about them; and his sister Begum failed not to make use of this occasion to animate the King against them. But Shah-Jehan was diffident of Dara, and fearing to be poisoned, gave order, that particular care should be had of what was brought to his table. It was also said, that he wrote to Aurang-Zebe, and that Dara being advertised thereof could not forbear to menace, and to break into very passionate expressions. In the mean time the distemper of Shah-Jehan lingered, and it was bruited every

where that he was dead. Whereupon the whole court was disordered, the whole town alarmed, the shops for many days shut up, and the four sons of the King made openly great preparations, each for himself: and to say truth, it was not without reason, that they all made ready for war; for they all very well knew, that there was no hope of quarter, that there was no other way than to vanquish or die, to be King or undone, and that he that should be conqueror would rid himself of all the rest, as formerly Shah-Jehan had done of his brothers.

Sultan Sujah, who had hooped up great treasures in that rich kingdom of Bengal, ruining some of the Rajas or petty kings that are in those parts, and drawing great sums from others, took the field first of all with a puissant army, and in the confidence he had of all the Persian Omrahs for the sect of whom he had declared himself, he boldly marched towards Agra, giving out openly that Shah-Jehan was dead, that Dara had poisoned him, that he would revenge the death of his father, and, in a word, that he would be King. Dara desired Shah-Jehan to write himself to him, and to forbid him to advance further; which he did, assuming him that his sickness was not at all dangerous, and that he was already much better. But he having friends at court, who assured him that the sickness of Shah-Jehan was mortal, he dissembled and ceased not to advance, saying still, that he knew very well Shah-Jehan was dead; and if he should be alive he was desirous to come and kiss his feet, and to receive his commands,

Aurang-Zebe immediately after, if not at the same time, taketh the field also in Decan, maketh a great noise, and prepareth to march towards Agra. The same prohibition was made to him also, as well from Shah-Jehan, as from Dara, who threatened him. But he dissembled for the same reason that Sultan Sujah had done, and giveth the like answer. Mean time, finding that his treasure was low, and

his soldiery very inconsiderable, he devised two artifices, which succeeded admirably well; the one, in regard of Morad-Bakche; the other, in respect of Amir-Jemla. To Morad-Bakche he writes with speed a very fair letter, importing, that he had always been his true and intimate friend; that as for himself, he laid no claim at all to the crown; that he might remember, he had [all his life time made profession of a Fakir, but that Dara was a person incapable to govern a kingdom; that he was a Kafer, an idolater, and hated of all the greatest Omrahs; that Sultan Sujah was a Rasezy, an heretic, and by consequence an enemy to Hindusthan, and unworthy of the crown; so that in a word, there was none but he (Morad-Bakche) that could reasonably pretend to the succession; that the crown did expect him; that the whole court, which was not ignorant of his valour, would be for him; and that for his particular, if he would promise him, that being King, he would give him leave to live quietly in some corner or other of his empire, there to serve God the remainder of his days, he was ready to make a conjunction with him, to assist him with his council and friends, and to put into his hands his whole army to fight Dara and Sultan Sujah; that in the mean time he sent him an hundred thousand rupees (which make about fifty thousand crowns of our money) and prayed him to accept thereof as a pledge of his friendship; and that he would advise him to come with all possible speed to seize on his castle of Surat, where he knew to be the treasure of the land.

Morad-Bakche, who was neither too rich nor too powerful, received with much joy this proposition of Aurang-Zebe, and the hundred thousand rupees sent by him; and shewed Aurang-Zebe's letter to every body, thereby to oblige the flower of that country to take up arms for him, and the substantial merchants to lend him the more willingly, such sums of money as he demanded of them. He began in good earnest to act the King, made large promise to all; and, in

short, did so well, that he set a good army on foot ; of whom he singled out some three thousand, who, under the conduct of Shah-Abas, one of his eunuches, but a valiant man, should go to besiege Surat.

Aurang-Zebe sent his eldest son, Sultan Mahmoud, (him whom he had married to the daughter of the King of Golconda,) to Amir Jemla, who was yet employed in the siege of Kaliane, to persuade him to come to him to Daulat-Abad, pretending to have matter of the greatest importance to communicate to him. Amir who soon suspected his intentions, excused himself, saying openly, that Shah-Jehan was not dead, that he had fresh news of his being alive, and that besides, all his family being at Agra in the hands of Dara, he could by no means assist Aurang-Zebe, nor declare himself for him. Whereupon Sultan Mahmoud returned to Daulat-Abad, without effecting any thing, and very much dissatisfied with Amir. But Aurang-Zebe lost no courage for all that, but sent the second time to Amir ; yet not Sultan Mahmoud but Sultan Mazum, his second son, who presented to him his father's letter, and handled him with that dexterity, sweetness, and protestation of friendship, that it was not possible to resist him. Amir therefore pressed the siege of Kaliane, forced the besieged to surrender upon composition, took the choice of his army, and with all diligence went away with Sultan Mazum. At his arrival, Aurang-Zebe courted him in the highest degree, treating him no otherwise than with the name of Bag Babagy, that is, father, lord-father ; and after an hundred embraces, he took him aside, and told him (according to what I could learn from persons who knew of it) that it was not just, that having his family at court, he should adventure to do any thing in his behalf that might come to be known ;, but that after all, there was nothing so difficult but an expedient might be found. Give me leave therefore (said he) to propose to you a design which at first will possibly surprize you ; but since you apprehend



the danger of your wife and children that are in hostage, the best way of providing for their security would be to suffer me to seize on your person, and to put you in prison. It is to lull the doubt, that all the world will believe it done in earnest : for who would imagine that such a person as you would be content to let yourself be laid in prison ? In the interim, I could make use of part of your army and of your artillery, as you shall judge most proper and convenient : you also could furnish me with a sum of money, as you have frequently offered it ; and besides, methinks I might tempt fortune farther, and we might together take our measures, to see in what manner I had best to demean myself ; if you would also permit that I might cause you to be transported into the forests of Daulat-Abad, where you should be master ; and that there I might have you kept by my own son, Sulsan Mazum, or Sultan Mahmoud ; this would yet better palliate the matter, and I see not what Dara could justly say of it. nor how he could reasonably treat your wife and children ill.

Amir, whether it were by reason of the friendship he had sworn to Aurang-Zebe, or for the great promises made to him, or the apprehension he had, of seeing near him Sultan Mazum, who stood by very pensive and well armed, and Sultan Mahmoud, who looked grim upon him for his coming away at the solicitation of his brother, not at that of his, and had at his very entrance list up his foot as if he would have hit him ; whatever of these considerations might induce him, he consented to all that Aurang-Zebe desired, and approved of the expedient to suffer himself to be imprisoned, so that Aurang-Zebe was no sooner gone, but the great master of the artillery was seen to approach with some fierceness to Amir, and to command him in the name of Aurang-Zebe to follow him, looking him up in a chamber, and there giving him very good words, whilst all the soldiery that Aurang-Zebe had thereabout, went to their

arms. The report of the detention of Amir-Jemla was no sooner spread, but a great tumult arose ; and those whom he had brought along with him, although astonished, yet put themselves into a posture of rescuing him, and with their swords drawn, ran to force the guards, and the gate of his prison, which was easy for them to do ; for Aurang-Zebe had not with him sufficient troops to make good so bold an enterprize ; the only name of Amir-Jemla made all tremble. But the whole matter being altogether counterfeited, all these commotions were presently calmed by the intimations that were given to the chief officers of Amir's army, and by the presence of Aurang-Zebe, who there appeared very resolute with his two sons, and spoke now to one, then to another : and at last by promises and presents, liberally bestowed on those that were concerned. So that all the troops of Amir, and even most of those of Shah-Jehan, seeing things troubled, and being without their general, and believing Shah-Jehan to be dead or at best desperately sick ; considering also the ample promises made to them of augmenting their stipend, and of giving them at that very time three months advance, soon assisted themselves under Aurang-Zebe ; who having seized on all the equipage of Amir, even his very camels and tents, took the field, resolved to march to the siege of Surat, and to hasten the taking of it ; where Morad Bakche was exceedingly embarrassed, because that his best troops were employed there, and that he found more resistance in that time than he imagined. But Aurang-Zebe, after some days march was informed that the governor had surrendered the place ; for which he sent congratulations to Morad Bakche, acquainting him withal of his transactions with Amir-Jemla, and assuring him that he had forces of money enough, and very good intelligence at the court ; that nothing was wanting ; that he was directly going to Brampore and Agra ; that he had expected him on the way, and therefore desired him to join with him.

It is true, that Morad-Bakche found not so much money in the fortress of Surat as he imagined, whether it were that really there was not so much as was reported, or whether the governor had diverted a part of it, as some believed; yet notwithstanding that little he found there was useful to him, to pay the soldiers that had listed themselves in hopes of the advantages they should make of the imagined vast treasure of Surat. It is not less true, that he had no greater reason to boast of the taking of this place, in regard there was not any regular fortification about it; and yet his army had lain before it above a month, and would never have reduced it without the Hollanders, who furnished them with the invention of springing a mine, which, ruining a great side of the wall, cast the besieged into such a consternation, that it made them immediately surrender. The reduction of this town did much advance his design, some proclaiming immediately throughout these countries, that Morad-Bakche had taken Surat; that he had sprung a mine which sounded very big among the Indians, who as yet do little understand that practice; and that there he had found a vast treasure. Notwithstanding this great noise, and all the first advantages joined to all those frequent letters and great promises of Aurang-Zebe, the eunuch Shah-Abas, a man of good sense, of a great heart, and exceedingly affectionate to the service of his master, was not of opinion that Morad-Bakche should so much tie himself in interest to Aurang-Zebe, or precipitate the conjunction with him, but advised, that he should amuse him with words, and let him advance alone towards Agra; that in the mean time there would come certain news of the sickness of Shah-Jehan; that he should first see what channel affairs would run in; that he should fortify Surat, as a very good post, able to render him master of a very large and rich country: and that perhaps in time he might seize Brampore, which is a very considerable passage of a river, and as it were a bar of

Decan. But the continual letters and protestations of Aurang-Zebe, joined to the small forces, artillery, and treasure of Morad-Bakche, blinded with an excessive ambition to reign, made him regardless of all other considerations; so that he went away from Ahmedabad, abandoned Guzerat, and took his way through the woods and mountains, with all expedition, to be at the rendezvous, where Aurang-Zebe had looked for him those two or three days.

Great solemnities of joy were made at the conjunction of the two armies, the Princes visited one another, Aurang-Zebe made a hundred protestations and no less promises to Morad-Bakche, assured him afresh, and solemnly, of his not caring for the crown, as also of his being there for no other end than to assist him against Dara, their common enemy, and to place him in the throne, which expected him.

Upon this interview, and confirmation of friendship, both armies marched together, Aurang-Zebe continuing always, during the march, in the protestations of friendship, and in his courtship to Morad-Bakche, treating him never otherwise, whether in public or private, but with the title of Hazaret, that is, king and majesty: so that Morad-Bakche was fully persuaded that Aurang-Zebe meant sincerely, from an excess of affection towards him; whence he even willingly, and without ceremony, suffered the submissions and respects he shewed him; instead of remembering what had lately passed at Golconda, and of considering, that he who had thus hazarded himself with so much boldness to usurp a kingdom, was not of a temper to live and die a Fakires.

These two armies thus joined made a body considerable enough, which begot a great noise at court, and gave cause of thoughtfulness, not only to Dara, but to Shah-Jehan himself, who knew the great parts and subtle conduct of Aurang-Zebe, and the courage of Morad-Bakche; and who foresaw very well, that a fire was kindling, which would be very hard to quench. It was to no purpose to write letters upon

letters, signifying that he was well, and giving order that they should turn back to their respective governments and expressing also, that he would forget that all had passed hitherto. All his letters were not able to hinder their advance; and as the sickness of Shah-Jehan did still pass for mortal, there being no persons wanting to bring and spread such news they still continued to dissemble, giving out, that they were letters counterfeited by Dara, that Shah-Jehan was dead indeed: but that in case he were alive, they would go to kiss his feet, and deliver him from the hands of Dara.

What then should Shah-Jehan this unfortunate king do, who seeth that his sons have no regard to his orders; who is informed at all hours, that they march apace towards Agra, at the head of their armies, and who, in this conjuncture, finds himself sick to boot in the hands of Dara, that is of a man who breatheth nothing but war; who prepareth for it with all imaginable earnestness, and with all the marks of an enraged resentment against his brothers? But what he could do in this extremity? He is constrained to abandon to them his treasures, and to leave them to their disposal. He is forced to send for his old and most trusty captains, whom he knows for the most part to be not very affectionate to Dara; he must command them to fight for Dara, against his own blood, his own children, and those for whom he hath more esteem than for Dara; he is obliged forthwith to send an army against Sultan Sujah, because it is he that is most advanced; and he is to send another against Aurang-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, who no less are marching towards him.

Soliman Chekouh, the eldest son of Dara, a young Prince of about five and twenty years of age, very proper of body and of good parts and conduct, generous, liberal, and universally beloved, especially of Shah-Jehan, who had already enriched him, and who considered him rather for his successor than Dara, was he that was made general of this army

against Sujah. Nevertheless Shah-Jehan, who wished much rather that Sujah were returned to Bengal, than that the matter should be tried by a bloody combat, which could not but be very tragical, and wherein he run the hazard of losing one or other of his sons, gave him for companion an ancient Raja, called Jesseigne, who is at present one of the powerfulest and richest Rajas of all Hindusthan, and one of the ablest in the whole kingdom, with a secret order not to fight except it were altogether unavoidable ; as also to endeavour by all means to induce Sujah to retire, and to reserve his forces for a better occasion ; that is to say, after they should have seen the event of the sickness of Shah-Jehan, and the success of Aurang-Zebe, and Morad-Bakohe. But this young Prince, Soliman Chekouh, full of heat and courage, breathing after nothing but to signalize himself by some great action ; and Sultan Sujah fearing lest Aurang-Zebe gaining a battle should first make himself master of the capital towns of the empire, Agra, and Delhi : it was impossible for the Raja Jesseigne to keep them from a combat. The two armies are no sooner in sight of one another, but they prepare to fall on, and they were not long from giving some vollies of cannon. I shall not relate the particulars of this fight ; for besides that the narration of it would be too long and tedious ; in the sequel of this history we shall be obliged to describe more considerable ones, by which the reader will be able to judge of this. It is sufficient to know in general, that the first onset was very shape and obstinate on both sides, but that at length Soliman Chekouh did urge Sultan with that force, and vigour, that he disordered him, and made him fly : so that if Jesseigne, and the Pathan Delil-khan, who was one of the first captains and a valiant man, but an intimate friend of the Raja and did not act but being moved by him, had seconded him in good earnest, it is thought the whole army of Sujah would have been defeated, and himself in danger of being taken : but that that was

not the design of the Raja to destroy him, no more than it was that of Shah-Jehan who had given him orders to the contrary. Thus then had Sujah time to retreat, and that without losing any considerable number of his men; yet because Soliman Chekouh kept the field, and brought away some pieces of artillery, it was presently bruited at court, that Sujah had been totally overthrown. This defeat purchased great reputation to Soliman Chekouh, lessened much the esteem of Sultan Sujah, and cowed exceedingly all the Persians that had an inclination for him.

After some days were spent in the pursuit of Sujah, the Prince Soliman Chekouh, who every day received news from the court, and who learned that Aurang-Zebe and Morad-Bakche did approach with great resolution, well knowing that his father Dara had no great stock of prudence, but good store of secret enemies, resolved to quit the pursuit of Sultan Sujah, and with all speed to return to Agra, where, in all appearance, Dara was to give battle against Aurang-Zebe and Morad-Bakchi. This was the best counsel he could take, for no man doubts, that if he could have been there in good time, Aurang-Zebe would not have had the advantage; and it is even believed, he would never had hazard the combat, the party being too unequal; but the bad fortune of Dara did not permit it.

Whilst all that was thus transacted towards Elabad which is the place where the Jamuna is joined to the Ganges, the scene was very different on the side of Agra. At the court they were much surprized to hear that Aurang-Zebe had passed the river of Brampore, and all the other passages that were most difficult between the mountains; so that with all haste they sent away some troops to dispute with him the passage of the river Engenes, whilst the whole army was making ready. For which purpose there were chosen two of the most considerable and the most powerful of the kingdom to command it; the one was Kasem-khan, a

renowned captain, and very affectionate to Shah-Jehan, but one that had no great inclination to Dara, and who went not but to oblige Shah-Jehan, whom he saw in the hands of Dara: the other was Jessemseigne, a potent Raja, not inferior to Jesseigne, and son-in-law to that Raja Rana, who was at the [time of Akbar so puissant, as if he had been the Emperor of the Rajas. Dara at their farewell expressed to them great kindness, and presented to them nobly; but Shah-Jehan took his time, before their departure, to charge them in secret, as he had done the Raja Jesseigne, when he went away in the expedition against Sultan Sujah with Soliman Chekouh. Neither were they wanting, in their march to send several times to Aurang-Zebe and Morad-Bakchi, to persuade them to turn back: but this was in vain, their envoys came not again, and the army advanced with that diligence, that they saw it much sooner than they thought upon a rising ground, not far remote from the river.

It being then summer, and the season of the greatest heat, the river was fordable; which was the cause, that at the same time Kasem-Khan and the Raja prepared themselves to give battle; besides that, they soon knew the resolution of Aurang-Zebe, that he would force them, since that, although his army was not all come up, he gave them some volleys of cannon; his design being to amuse them, fearing lest they themselves should pass the river, not only to prevent the passage, but also to hinder his army from reposing, and from taking an advantageous post; which was indeed in great disorder, and so tired by their march, and so thirsty by the heat, that if at the very first it had been assaulted, and kept from passing the water, it would doubtless have been routed without much resistance. I was not by in this first encounter, but thus it was generally discoursed of and it agreeth with the after-relation of many of our Frenchmen, who served Aurang-Zebe in the artillery. But they were content to stay at the riverside, to keep Aurang-Zebe from passing it, according to the order they had received.



After that Aurang-Zebe had let his army rest two or three days, and by amusing the enemy, had fitted it to pass the river, he made his whole artillery play, which was very well placed; and he commanded, that under the favour of the cannon they should pass the river. Kasem-Khan and the Raja, on their part, discharged theirs also, and did what they could to repulse the enemy, and to keep him from passing. The combat was sharp enough at first, and very obstinately maintained by the extraordinary valour of Jessomseigne. For as to Kasem-Khan, although a great captain, and a stout man, he gave no great proof of his valour on this occasion; yea, some accuse him of treachery, charging him that he had in the night caused the bullets and powder to be hid under the sand, there being no more of them to be found after two or three discharges. However it be, the combat, for all that, was, as I said, very resolutely carried on, and the passage long disputed. There were rocks in the bed of the river, which did much embarrass, and the banks in many places were very high and difficult to climb up; but at last Morad-Bakche cast himself into the water with so much resolution and force, and shewed so much valour and boldness, that there was no resisting of him. He passed over, and with him a good part of the army, which made Kasem-Khan to give back, and cast Jessomseigne into great danger of his person. For by and by he found the whole body of the enemy upon him, and without the extraordinary resolution of his Rajpous, who almost all were killed about him, he had been a dead man. One may judge of the great danger he was in upon this occasion, by this, that after he had disengaged himself as well as he could, and was come back to his own, not daring to return to Agra, because of the great loss he had suffered, of seven or eight thousand Rajpous, he had but five or six hundred of them remaining.

These Rojpouts, who take their name from the Rajas that is to say, the children of the Rajas, are from father to

son such men as make the sword their profession. The Rajas, whose subjects they are, to assign them lands for their subsistence, on condition to be always ready to go to war when summoned. So that one might say, that they were a sort of pagam nobles, if the Rajas gave them their lands in property for them and their children. They are great takers of opium; and I have sometimes wondered at the quantity I have seen them take; they accustom themselves to it from their youth. On the day of battle they double the dose, this drug animating, or rather inebriating them, and making them insensible of danger; in so much that they cast themselves into the combat like so many furious beasts, not knowing what it is to run away, but dying at the feet of the Raja, when he stands to it. They want nothing but order; resolution they have enough. It is a pleasure thus to see them, with the fume of opium in their head, to embrace one another, when the battle is to begin, and to give their mutual farewells, as men resolved to die. And that they do for this reason; that the Great Mogul, though a Mahomedan, and by consequence an enemy of the heathen, yet for all that enterins always a good number of Rajas in his service, whom he considers as his other Omrahs, and employs in his armies as if they were Mahomedans.

I cannot forbear to relate here the fierce reception which the daughter of the Rana gave to her husband Jessomseigne, after his defeat and flight. When she heard that he was nigh and had understood what had passed in the battle; that he had fought with all possible courage; that he had but four or five hundred men left: and that at last, not being able to resist any longer the enemy, he had been obliged to retreat: she, instead of sending one to receive him, and to console him in his misfortunes, commanded in a dry mood to shut the gates of the castle, and not to let this infamous man enter; that he was not her husband; that she would never see him: that the son-in-law of the great Rana could not

have so low a soul; that he was to remember, that being grafted into so illustrious a house, he was to intimate the virtue of it; and in a word, that he was either to vanquish or die. A moment after she was of another humour; she commands a pile of wood to be laid, that she might burn herself; that they abused her; saying, that her husband must needs be dead; that it could not be otherwise. And a little while after this, she was seen to change her countenance, to fall into passion, and to break out into a thousand reproaches against him. In short, she remained thus transported eight or nine days, without being able to resolve to see her husband, till at last her mother coming in, brought her in some degree to herself, and comforted her, assuring her, that as soon as the Raja had but a little refreshed himself he would raise another army, to fight Aurang-Zebe and repair his honour at any rate.

By which story one may see a pattern of the courage of the women in that country; to which I could add something I have seen some of them do, who burned themselves alive after the death of their husbands; but we must reserve this discourse for another place, where I shall also shew, that there is nothing which opinion, prepossession, custom, hope, and the point of honour, etc., may not make men do or suffer.

Dara having understood what had passed at Engenes, fell into that choler against Kasem-Khan, that it was thought he would have cut off his head, if he had been upon the place. He was also transported against Amir-Jemla, as the person who was the first and principal cause of the misfortune, and who had furnished Aurang-Zebe with men, money, and cannon. He is ready to kill his son Mahmet Amir-Khan and will send his wife and daughter to Basar, or the market-place of prostituted women; and it is past doubt, that he would have done some such thing, if Shah-Jehan, with much art and prudence, had not moderated the excess of his passion in remonstrating to him, that Amir-Jemla had not so little

conduct, nor so great a friendship for Aurang-Zebe, as to hazard, and in a manner to sacrifice his family, for the advancing of his interest ; that Aurang-Zebe must needs have gulled and ensnared him, by his usual artifice and cunning.

As for Aurang-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, the happy success of this first encounter did so swell their hearts, and gave such courage to their whole army, that henceforth they believed themselves invincible, and capable to compass any thing. Besides, Aurang-Zebe, the more to animate his soldiers, bragged openly, that he had thirty thousand Moguls at his devotion in the army of Dara ; and there was something in it, as appeared by the sequel. Morad-Bakche was for nothing but fighting, and would march with all diligence : but Aurang-Zebe represented to him, that it was necessary the army should refresh themselves for some time upon the banks of this sweet river ; that in the mean time he would write to all his friends, and get a full and certain information of the state of the court, and of that condition of all affairs. So that he marched not towards Agra till he had rested four days, and after that he marched but slowly, to inform himself of all, and to take his home and measure.

Concerning Shah-Jehan, when he plainly saw the resolution of Aurang-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, and that there was no hope rest to make him turn back, he was in such a perplexity, that he knew not what to resolve, and foreseeing some great calamity, he would have hindered the last decisive battle, for which he saw Dara preparing himself with great eagerness. But what could he do to oppose it ? He was yet too weak of his sickness, and saw himself still in the hands of Dara, whom, as I have said, he trusted not much - so that he found himself obliged to acquiesce in his will, and to commit to him all the forces of the empire, and and to command all captains to obey him. Immediately all was in arms. I know not whether there was ever a more gallant army seen in Hindusthan. It is said that there were

little less than an hundred thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot, with four thousand pieces of cannon, without reckoning the incredible number of servants, followers, victuallers, whom historians, methinks, do often put into the number of the combatants, when they speak of those formidable armies of three or four hundred thousand men of which their books are full. Though this army was very brave and strong enough to cut in pieces two or three of such as Aurang-Zebe had, in which there were no more than thirty-five or forty thousand men in all, and these tired and harassed by a very long and irksome march, during the height of the heats; and but a small number of cannon, in respect, of that of Dara. Meantime (which seems hard to believe) there was scarce any body that presaged well for Dara, all knowing, that most of the chief Omrahs had no affection for him, and that all the good soldiers that were for him, and whom he might confide in, were in the army of Soliman Chekouh, his son. And it was for this reason, that the most prudent and the most faithful of his friends, and Shah-Jehan himself, counselled him not to hazard a battle: Shah-Jehan offering, as infirm as he was, he would go into the field himself, and be carried before Aurang-Zebe to interpose; which was looked upon as a very good expedient for peace and for accommodating the affairs of Shah-Jehan. For it is certain that Aurang-Zebe and Morad-Bakche would never have had the boldness to fight against their own father; and if they should have attempted it, they would have smarted for it, because, besides that the match was not equal, and all the great Omrahs were so affectionate to Shah Jehan, that they would not have failed to fight resolutely, if they had seen him in the head of the army; besides this, I say, the captains themselves of Aurang-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, bore great affection and respect to this Prince, whose creatures they most were; and the whole army, in a manner, was his. So that in all appearance, not one of them would have pre-

sumed to draw his sword against him, nor he be at the pains of drawing his.

Then they advised Dara, that if he would not hearken to this expedient, he should at least not precipitate the business, but delay till Soliman Chekouh, who made all haste to join, were come in. Which was also very good counsel, in regard that that Prince was beloved of all, and was lately come victorious, and had the most faithful and the bravest soldiers with him. But Dara would never hearken to any proposition that could be made to him, and he thought on nothing else but to give battle presently, and to go against Aurang-Zebe in person. And possibly he did not amiss, as to his own honour and particular interests he could have commanded fortune, and made things succeed as he contrived the store. For the considerations he had (as he could not forbear now and then to discover to come some such as these.

He looked upon himself as custodian to the person of Shah-Jehan ; that he could dispose of him as he pleased ; that he shall also be possessor of all the treasures and forces of the empire ; that Sultan Sujah was completely ruined ; that his two other brothers, with a weak and tired army, were come to cast themselves into his hands ; that if he gained the battle, they could not escape him ; that he should all at once be absolute master, and at the end of all his troubles, and at the height of his wishes, so as nobody could contradict him in any thing, or dispute the crown with him. Whereas, if Shah-Jehan should take the field, all affairs would be accommodated, his brother would return to their government, Shan-Jehan, who began to recover his health, would resume the government as before, and all things would return into their first channel ; that if he should stay for Soliman Chekouh, his son, Shah-Jehan might take some design to his disadvantage, or contrive something with Aurang-Zebe ; that whatever he could do for gaining the victory, the repu-

tation which Soliman Chekouh had purchased, would still give him all the honour of it. And after that, what would not he be capable to undertake, swelled with so much glory and success, and especially being supported, as he was, by the favour and affection to Shah Jehan, and of the greatest part of the Omrahs? What did he know, whether he would keep any modestly, or any respect for him, and whither his ambition might not carry him?

These considerations made Dara resolve to stand out against the counsel of all, and to pursue his point. And for that purpose, he commanded immediately the whole army to take the field, and thereupon came to take leave of Shah-Jehan, who was in the fortress of Agra. This good old man was ready to melt in tears, when he embraced him; but withal failed not to represent to him, with a very grave countenance: Well, Dara, since thou art resolved to follow thine own will, go, God bless thee, but remember well these few words. If thou lovest the battle, take heed of ever coming into my presence, But this made no great impression upon him; he goeth forth briskly, taketh horse, and seizeth on the passage of the river Tchembel, which is about twenty miles from Agra; where he fortified himself, expecting his enemy. But the subtle and crafty Fakire,\* who wanted no good spies, and people that gave him intelligence of all, and who knew that the passage was there very difficult, took good heed to attempt the forcing it. He came to encamp himself near it, so that from the camp of Dara one might discover his tents. But what doth he do in the mean time? He inveigles a certain rebel of Raja, called Chempet presents him richly, and promiseth him a thousand fine things if he would let him pass through his territories, that so he might go with speed to gain a certain place, where he knew that the river might be passed on foot with ease. Chempet agreeth and offers of his own accord, that he would himself attend him, and shew him the way through the woods and

hills of his country. Aurang-Zebe raised his camp the same night, without any noise, leaving some of his tents to amuse Dara, and marching night and day, made such haste, that he was almost as soon on the other side of the river, as Dara could have notice of it. Which obliged Dara to abandon the river there, and to leave to his fortifications, and to follow his enemy, who he was told, did advance with the great diligence towards Agra, to gain the river of Jamuna, and there without trees, and at this ease, to enjoy the water to fortify, and to fix himself well, and is to expect Dara. The place where he encamped is but five leagues from Agra, it as formerly called Samonguer, and now Fate-abad, which is to say, Place of Victory, A little while after, Dara also came to encamp there, nigh the bank of the same river between Agra and the army of Aurangzebe.

The two armies were there between three or four days in sight of one another, without fighting, Meantime Shah-Jehan wrote there a letter to Dara, that Soliman Chekouh was not far off; that he should not precipitate; that he should come near Agra, and choose an advantageous place to form himself till he came. But Dara answered, that before three days were passed, he would bring to him Aurang-Zebe and Morad-Bakche, tied hand and foot, to do with them what he should think fit. And without expecting any longer, he began at every hour to put his army in battle-array.

He placed in the front all his cannon, causing them to be tied the one to the other with chains, to shut the passage of the cavalry. Behind these pieces of cannon, he placed also front-ways a great number of light camels, on the fore-part of the bodies whereof they fasten a small piece, of the bigness of a double masket; a man sitting on the hind part the camel, being able to charge and discharge without a lighting. Behind these camels stood the greatest part of the musqueteers, Of the rest of the army, which chiefly consisted in cavalry, furnished with bows and arrows, (as ordi-



narily are the Moguls, that is, at present, white men Mahometans, strangers, as Persians, Turks, Arabians, and Usbecks;) or with a sword, and a kind of half-pikes, as commonly are the Rajipous. Of all these, I say there were made the different bodies. The right wing was committed to Chalil-ullah-Khan, with thirty thousand Moguls under his command; for he was made great bakhis, that is great master of the cavalry, in the place of Danechmend-Khan that was afterwards made Aga, who voluntarily resigned this office, seeing that he was not well beloved of Dara, for having always highly maintained against him the interest and authority of Shah-Jehan. The left wing was given to Rustam-Khan-Dakney, a very renowned and very valiant captain, together with the Raja Chatresale, and the Raja Ramseigne Route.

On the otherside, Aurang-Zebe and Morad-Bakche put also their army almost into the same order; except that in the midst of the troops of some Omrahs, they had hid some small field pieces, which was, as was said, after the way and art of Amir-Jemla, and with no ill effect.

They hardly made use of any more art, than what hath been now related; only they placed here and there some men casting bannes, which is a kind of granado fastened to a stick, that may be cast very far through the cavalry, and which extremely terrifieth horse and even hurts and kills sometimes.

All this cavalry turns about very easily, and they draw their arrows with marvellous swiftness; one man be that the to draw six of them, before a musqueteer can twice discharge his musket. The same cavalry keeps also very close in several troops under their respective officers, especially when they are going to fight hand to hand. But after all, I see not that this way of putting an army in array is any great matter, in comparison of our armies, when in good order.

All things being thus disposed, the artillery began to play on both sides; for it is always the cannon that makes a

prelude amongst them ; and the arrows were now seen to fly through the air, when unexpectedly there happened to fall a storm of rain, so violent, that it interrupted the combat. The rain ceasing, the cannon began afresh to roar ; and then it was that Dara appeared, who being mounted upon a proud elephant of Seilan, commanded elephant onset should be made on all sides ; and himself advanced into the midst, off those shots of the cavalry, directly towards the enemies artillery, who received him warmly and staggered the men about him, and put into disorder, not only the main body which quickly advanced, but also the other bodies of the cavalry that followed him. Yet because he was seen to keep firm upon his elephant, without appearance of giving back, and was observed to look every where about him with an undaunted courage, and to make signs with his hands to advance and to follow him, this disorder soon vanished every one resuming his rank, and advancing in the same pace with Dara, but he could not reach the enemy, without receiving another volley of cannon fire which caused a second and great disorder in his men and made a good part of them recoil ; yet he without any change in his countenance, stood to it, encouraging his troops, and gave still signs that they should follow him, and advance with speed, without any loss of time. Thus pressing vigorously forward, he forced the enemy's artillery, broke the chains, entered into their camp, and made a rout in their camels and infantry, and in every thing he met with on that side ; opening also a good passage to the cavalry that followed him. Then it was that the enemy's cavalry facing him, a fore combat began. A shower of arrows filled the air from both sides, Dara himself putting his hand to that work ; but to say truth, these arrows do but little execution, more of them are lost in the air, or broken on the ground, than hit. The first discharge of arrows being made, they fought hand to hand with their sabres, pell-mell, and the combat

was stoutly maintained on both sides. Dara is still seen to continue firm on his elephant, encouraging, making a noise and giving signs on all sides ; and at last advancing with so much resolution and force, against all that opposed him in his march, that he overthrew the cavalry, and made them to retire and run away.

Aurang-Zebe, who was not far from thence, and mounted also on an elephant, seeing this great disorder, was in great trouble, and laboured with all his might to remedy it, but to no purpose. He made the main body of his best cavalry advance, to try whether he could make head against Dara ; but it was not long before this body also was forced to give back, and to retreat in great disorder, whatever Aurang-Zebe could say or do to hinder it. Meantime let us take notice of his courage and resolution. He saw that almost the whole body of his army was disordered, and in a flying posture, insomuch that he had not a thousand men about him that kept their standing (some told me, that there were scarce five hundred). He saw that Dara, notwithstanding the difficulty of the way, which was uneven, and full of holes in divers places, made as if he would rush in upon him ; yet, for all this, he lost no courage, and was so far from being struck with fear, or from retreating, that he stood firmly to it, and called by name most of his captains that were about him, crying out to them, 'Delirane Kodahe (these are his own words), that is, "Courage my old friends, courage. What hope is there in flying ? Know you not, where is our Decan ? Kodabe, Kodabe ; God is, God is." And that none might doubt of his being undaunted that he thought on nothing less than running away, he commanded before the fight in that strange extremity !, that forthwith chains should be fastened to the elephants ; and he was going to fasten them in good earnest, but that they all shall have courage and resolution to live and die with him.

Dara in the interim endeavoured to advance on Aurang-

Zebe though he was yet at a good distance from him ; and though the difficulty of the ground embarrassed and retarded him much, he meeting also with some horsemen of those disordered horse of the enemy that covered all high and low grounds through which he was to march. And this encounter with Aurang-Zebe was looked upon as that which was to assure Dara of the victory, and to decide the battle. And he should have overcome all these difficulties, and Aurang-Zebe, with the men now left him, would not have been able to bid head to this victorious army, if he had known how to profit of the prize he had in his hands. But here he failed, and I shall now shew the occasion, and how thereby the scale was turned to Aurang-Zebe's advantage.

Dara perceived that his left wing was in great disorder, and he was informed, that Rustom-Khan and Chatresale were killed ; that Ramsing Routle had too far advanced, that he had indeed forced the enemy and made way through the midst of them ; but that now he was surrounded every way, and in a very great danger. This it was which made Dara desist from his design of making directly towards Aurang-Zebe, that he might go to succour his left wing. There at first the battle was also very sharp, but Dara at last carried it, forcing and routing all, yet so as that there still remained something that resisted and stopped him. Meantime, Ramseigne Routle fought with so much courage and vigour as was possible. He wounded Morad-Bakche, and came so near him, that he began to cut the girdles of his elephant, to make him fall down ; but the valour and good fortune of Morad-Bakche gave not him enough for it. In short, never any man fought and defended himself more bravely than Morad-Bakche did on this occasion. All wounded as he was, and pressed by the Rajipous of Ramseigne Routle, who were round about him, he was not daunted, nor gave way in the least, but knew so well to take his time, that although he was, besides defending himself, a

cover with his shield a son of his, but of seven or eight years of age, who was sitting on his side, he made an arrow-shot so luckily at Ramseigne Route that it made him fall dead to the ground.

Dara, soon heard the sad news of this accident ; And at same time he understood also, that Morad-Bakche was in very great danger, the Rajipus fighting furiously and like lions, to revenge the death of their master. And though he saw on that side the way was very difficult, and that he still found some small body opposing and retarding him ; yet he was determined to rush through to Morad-Bakche. And doubtless this was the best he could do, and that which was capable to repair the fault he had committed in not doing his business thoroughly with Aurang-Zebe. But his bad fortune kept him from it, or rather one of the blackest treacheries that ever was imagined, and the greatest oversight that was ever committed, did cause the entire loss and ruin of Dara.

Salil-ullah-Khan (he that commanded the thirty thousand Moguls, which made the right wing, and were alone able to defeat the whole army of Aurang-Zebe) did, whilst Dara and his left wing fought with so much courage and success, keep off, as idle as if he were not concerned to the fray, not permitting any one of his horseman to shoot an arrow, with a pretence that they were for a reserve, and that he had expressed order not to fight but in the last extremity. But the true cause was, that he reserved in his breast the rancour of an old and bitter grudge when Dara commanded him to be struck. But after all, this treachery could have done no great mischief, if this infamous man had contented himself with the rancour of his resentment. Behold how far he carried his rage and revenge and managed to cut himself off from his main body, and taking only a few men with him with all possible speed towards Dara, at the same time when he was turned towards Morad-Bakche ; and being come so near

as to make himself to be heard, he cried with all his force—Mobbareckbad Hazaret, Salamet, Elbamd-ul-ellab; “Auspicious Majesty, you have obtained the victory; what will you do any longer upon the elephant? Is it not enough that you have exposed yourself so long? If the leader charge—that hath been made unto your Dais had reached your person what would have become of us? Are there traitors wanting in this army? In the name of God come down quickly and take horse. What remains now to be done, than to pursue those run-aways. Please do so, nor let us suffer that they should escape our hands.”

If Dara had wit enough to discover the cheat, and to consider upon a sudden the consequences of his not appearing any more upon the elephant, and being no more seen by the whole army, always eyeing him, or rather, if he had presently commanded to cut off the head of this parasitical traitor, he had been master of all. But the good Priuce suffered himself to be blinded by these sweet words: he hearkened to this advice, as if it had been very true and very sincere; he descended from his elephant and took horse. But I know not whether there passed one quarter of an hour, but he perceived the treachery of Salil-ullah-Khan, and repented himself extremely of the great fault he had committed. He looks about him, he seeketh, he asketh where is he; he saith he is a traitor, he will kill him. But the perfidious villain is by this time at a good distance; the occasion is lost. Would it be believed, that as soon as the army perceived Dara to be no more upon the elephant, they imagined that there was treason, that Dara was killed; and all were struck with such a terror, that every one thought on nothing but how to escape the hands of Aurang-Zebe, and to save himself. What shall I say? And the army disbands and flieth. A sudden and strange revolution! He that saw himself just now victorious, finds himself in a few moments vanquished, abandoned, and obliged to fly himself to save his

life. Aurang-Zebe, by holding out firm to quarter of an hour upon his elephant, seeth the crown of Hindusthan upon his head; and Dara, for having come down a little too soon, seeth himself precipitated from the throne, and the most unfortunate Prince of the world. Thus fortune taketh pleasure to make the gain or loss of a battle, and the decision of a great empire dependeth upon a nothing.

These great and prodigious armies, it is true; do sometimes great things; but when once terror seizeth, and disorder comes among them, what means of stopping the commotion? It is like a great river broke through its dams; it must over-run all, without a remedy. Whence it is, that as often as I consider the condition of such armies, destitute of good order, and marching like flocks of sheep, I persuade myself, that, if in these parts one might see an army of five-and-twenty thousand men of those old troops of Flanders, under the conduct of Monsieur le Prince or of Monsicur de Turenne, I doubt not at all but they would trample under foot all those armies, how numerous soever they were. And this it is that now maketh me not find it any longer strange or incredible, what we are told of ten thousand Greeks; and of fifty thousand men of Alexander overcoming six or seven hundred thousand men of Darius (if it be true that there were so many, and that the historian did not reckon the servants, and all those number of men which were to follow the army, to furnish it with forage, cattle, corn and all other necessities). Bear only the first brunt, which would be no very difficult thing for us to do, and behold, they are all astonished. Or do like Alexander, set vigorously upon one place, if that hold not out (which will be very hard of them to do, you may be sure the work is done; all the rest presently take fright and flight together.

Aurang-Zebe encouraged by such a wonderful success, is not wanting to turn every stone, to employ skill, dexterity,

subtily, craft, courage, to profit by all the advantages which so favourable an occasion put into his hands. Salil-ullah-Khan is presently with him, offering him his service, and all the troops he could be master of. He, on his side, wants not words of thanks and acknowledgements, nor a thousand fair promises; but he is very cautious to receive him in his own name; he carried him presently and presented him to Morad-Bakche, who, as we may easily think, received him with open arms; Aurang-Zebe in the meantime congratulating and praising Morad-Bakche, for having fought so valiantly, and ascribing to him all the honour of the victory; treating him with the title of King and Majesty before Salil-ullah-Khan, giving him uncommon respect, and doing submissions to him benoming a subject, and servant. In the interim, he labours night and day for himself; he writeth round about to all the Omrahs, making sure to-day of one and the next day of another. Shah-hest-Khan, his uncle, the great and old enemy of Dara, by reason of an affront he had received from him, did the same for him on his part; and as he is the person who writeth best and subtilest of the empire of Hindusthan, so he contributed not a little by his cabals to the advancement of the affairs of Aurang-Zebe, making strong parties every where against Dara.

In the mean time, let us still observe the artifice and dissimulation of Aurang-Zebe, Nothing of what he doth, treateth, promiseth, is for himself, or in his own name; he hath still (forsooth) the design of living as a fakire. All is for Morad-Bakche, it is he that commands, Aurang-Zebe doth nothing; it is Morad-Bakche that doth all, it is he that is designed to be king.

As for the unhappy Dara, he comes with all speed to Agra, in a desperate condition, and not daring to go and see Shah-Jehan, remembering, doubtless, those severe words which he let fall, when he took leave of him before the battle viz. That he should remember not to come before him if



he were overcome. Yet for all that, the good old father sent secretly a trusty eunuch to him to comfort him, to assure him of the continuance of his affection to declare to him his trouble for his misfortune, and to remonstrate to him that the case was not yet desperate, considering that there was a good army with Soliman Chekouh, his son, that he should go to Delhi, where he should find a thousand horse in the royal stables; and that the governor of the forests had order to furnish him with money and elephants; for the rest, that he should not go farther than he needs must; that he would often write to him; and lastly, that he very well knew how to find out and chastise Aurang-Zebe.

I have been informed, that Dara was then in such a confusion, and sunk so low, that he had not the power to answer a word to eunuch, nor the courage to send any one to Shah-Jehan; but that after having sent several times to Begum-Saheb, his sister, he went away at midnight, taking with him his wife, his daughter, and his grand child Sepe Chekouh; and that (which is almost incredible) he was attended with not above three or four hundred persons. Let us leave him in his voyage to Delhi, and stay at Agra, to consider the dexterity and craft wherewith Aurang-Zebe proceeded to manage affairs.

He well knew that Dara, and those of his party could yet place some hopes in the victorious army of Soliman Chekouh, and therefore he resolved to take it from him, or to make it useless to him. To this end, he wrote letters upon letters to the Raja Jesseigne and to Dalil-Khan, who were the chief heads of the army of Soliman Chekouh, telling them that there was no hope left for Dara and his party; that he had lost the battle: that this whole army had submitted to him; that all had abandoned him; that he has fled alone towards Delhi; that he could never escape him' and that orders were distributed every where to seize on him. And as for Shah-Jehan, that he was in a condition

hopeless of recovery; that they should take good care of what they had to do; and if they were men of understanding, and would follow his fortune, and be his friends, they should seize on Soliman-Chekouh, and bring him to him.

Jesseigne found himself perplexed enough what he should do, still much apprehending Shah-Jehan and Dara, and more he lay hands upon a royal person, well knowing that some mischief might therefore seen on him, sooner or later, even from Aurang-Zebe himself. Besides, he knew that Soliman Chekouh had too much courage to let himself be taken after that manner, and that he would rather die in defending himself. Behold, therefore, what he at last resolved. After having taken council with Dalil-Khan, his great friend, and after the had renewed to one another the oath of mutual fidelity, he went directly to the tent of Soliman Chekouh, who with great impatience expected him (for he all had heard the news of the defeat of Dara, his father), and had already divers times sent for him. To him he frankly discovered all things, shewed him the letter of Aurang-Zebe told him what course was for him to take, represented to him the danger he was in; that there was no reason he should trust in Dalil-Khan, or in Daoud-Khan, or in the rest of his army; but that as soon as he could, he should gain the mountains of Serenaguer; that that was the best expedient he could take; that the Raja of the country, being in inaccessible places, and not apprehending Aurang-Zebe, would doubtless receive him gladly; and for the rest, he would soon see how things would go, and be always in a condition to come down from the mountains, when he should think good.

The young Prince understood well enough by this kind of discourse, that there was no ground to trust henceforth in this Raja, and there was no more safety for his person; and the rather, because he knew that Dalil-Khan was altogether devoted to him; and he saw well enough, that there was a necessity to take this course suggested. Whereupon he soon

commanded that his baggage should be put up to march towards the mountains. Some of his most affectionate friends, as a good number of Munseb-Dars, of Sajeds, and others, put themselves in order, attended him; the rest of the army altogether astonished, remained with the Raja. But that which was very mean for a great Raja, and a very forbid barbarousness, was that he and Dalil-Khan, sent under hand some to fall upon his baggage, who also took other things, and among them an elephant laden with rupies of gold, which caused a great disorder among those small troops that followed him; and which was an occasion that many of them returned and abandoned him, and invited also the country people to set upon his men, pillaging them and even killing some of them: yet he made a shift to gain the mountains, with his wife and children, where the Raja of Serenageur received him with all the honour and civilities he could desire assuring him, that he was in safety, as much as if he were king of that country, and that he would protect and assist him with all his forces. In the mean time, behold what happened on Agra's side.

Three or four days after the battle of Samonguer, the victorious Aurang-Zebe together with Morad-Bakche, came directly to the gate of the town into a garden, which may be a little league distant from the fortress, and sent from thence an able eunuch, and one of those whom he most confided in, to Shah-Jehan, to salute him with a thousand fair protestations of his affection and submission; that he was exceedingly sorry for what had passed, and for having been obliged by reason of the ambition and evil designs of Dara to proceed to all those extremities; that for the rest, he rejoiced extremely to hear that he began to find himself better, and that he was come thither for no other end than to receive his commands.

Shah-Jehan was not wanting to express to the eunuch much satisfaction, as to the proceedings of Aurang-Zebe,

and to receive the submissions of this son with all possible appearances of joy; though he saw very well that matters had been carried too far, and sufficiently knew the reserved and crafty humour of Aurang-Zebe, and his secret passion for reigning; and that therefore he was not much to be trusted, for all his fair words. And yet notwithstanding he suffers himself to be circumvented and instead of playing the surest chart, by using his utmost power, by inspiring, by appearing by causing himself to be carried through the town and by assembling all his Omrahs, (for it was yet time to do all this) he goes about to outward; Aurang Zebe, him that was his craft's-master, and attempts to draw him into a snare, wherein he will be found taken himself. He then sends also an eunuch to this son to let him know, that he well understood the ill conduct and even the incapacity of Dara that he could not but call to mind the particular inclination he always had expressed towards him, that he could not doubt of his affection; and lastly, that he should come to see him and to advise with him, what was fit to be done in these disorders; and that he passionately wished to embrace him:

Aurang-Zebe, on his side, saw also well enough, that he was not to trust too much to the words of Shah-Jehan, knowing especially, that Begum-Saheb, his enemy as well as sister, was night and day about him, and that it was very probable he acted nothing but by her motion. And he apprehended, that if he should come into the fortress, he might be seized on, and ill treated; as it was said, that the resolution was indeed taken to do so, and several of those lusty Tartarian woman which serve in the seraglio, were armed to set upon him as soon as he should enter. Whatever it be, he would never hazard himself, and yet spread a rumour abroad, that the next day he would go to see his father Shah-Jehan. But when the day was come, he put it off till another, and so delayed it from day to day without ever making the visit. In the mean time he continued his

secret negotiations and cabals, and founded the mind of all the greatest Omrahs so far, that at last, after he had well and closely laid his design, and politicly disposed all things for the success thereof, all were amazed to see, that one day when he had sent Sultan Mahmoud, his eldest son, to the fortress, under a pretence of seeing Shah-Jehan in his name; this young Prince, bold in undertaking, falls presently upon the guards that were at the gate, and vigorously drieveth all before him, whilst a great number of men appointed, who were there all ready, did enter with fury, and made themselves masters of the wall.

If ever a man was astonished, Shah-Jehan was seeing that he was fallen into the snare which he had prepared for others, that himself was imprisoned, and Aurang-Zebe master of the forests. It is said, that he sent presently to found the mind of Sultan Mahmoud, promising him upon his crown and upon the Alcoran, that if he would be faithful to him, and serve him in this conjuncture, he would make him king; that he should come presently to see him within, and not lose this occasion; besides, that it would be an action that would accumulate on him the blessings of Heaven, and an immortal glory; in regard it would be said for ever, that Sultan Mahmoud had delivered Shah-Jehan, his grand-father out of prison.

And certainly, if Sultan Mahmoud had been resolute enough to give his stroke, and Shah-Jehan could have come abroad to shew himself to the town, and to take the field, no man doubts but that all his great Omrahs would have followed him; nor would Aurang-Zebe himself have had the boldness nor the savageness to fight against his own father in person, especially since he must have apprehended, that all the world would have abandoned him and possibly Morad Bakehe himself. And it is the great fault which Shah-Jehan is observed to have committed after the battle, and the flight of Dara, not to have come out of the fortress. But yet I

have conversed with many, who maintained, that Shah-Jehan did prudently to it. For this hath been a question much agitated among the politicians, and there are no reason wanting to countenance the sentiment of the latter sort ; who also, add, that even almost all always judge of things by the event ; that often very foolish enterprizes have been observed to succeed, and which therefore are approved by all ; that if Shah-Jehan had prospered in his design, he would have been esteemed the most prudent and the most able man in the world ; but now being taken, he was nothing but a good old man, that suffered himself to be led by a woman, his daughter Begum, who was blinded by her passion, and had the vanity to believe, that Aurang-Zebe would come to see her, that the bird of itself would fly into the cage, or at least that he would never be so bold as to attempt the seizure of the fortress, nor have the power to do so. These same reasoners maintain also stiffly, that the greatest fault that Sultan Mahmoud could possibly commit, was, that he knew not how to take the occasion to assure himself of the crown, by the rarest and the most generous action that ever was, to put his grandfather at liberty, and thus to do himself right and justice, as the sovereign umpire of affairs ; whereas, as things now stand, he must one day go and die in Gowalior. But Sultan Mahmoud (whether it was that he feared his grandfather would not keep his word with him, or that he should be himself detained within, or that he durst not play tricks with his father Aurang-Zebe would never hearken to any thing, nor enter into the apartment of Shah-Jehan answering very closely, that he had no order from his father to go and see him, but that he was by him commanded not to return, without bringing him the keys of all the gates of the fortress, that so he might come with all safety to kiss the feet of His Majesty. There passed almost two whole days before he could resolve to surrender the keys ; during which time, Sultan Mahmoud staid there unalterable in his

resolutions, keeping himself upon his guard night and day, with all his troops about him; till at length Shah-Jehan, seeing that all his people that were upon the guard at the little gate, little by little disbanded; and that there was no more safety on his side, gave him the keys, with an order to tell Aurang-Zebe, that he should come presently if he were wise, and that he had most importunate things to discourse with him about. But Aurang-Zebe was too cunning to commit so gross a fault: on the contrary, he made his eunuch Etbar-Khan, governor of the fortress, who presently shut up Shah-Jehan, together with Begum Saheb, and all his women; causing divers gates to be walled up, that so he might not be able to write or speak to any body, nor go forth out of his apartment without permission.

Aurang-Zebe in the mean time wrote to him a little note, which he shewed to every body before he sealed it; in which, among other things, he told him with dry expressions, that he knew from good hands, that notwithstanding those great protections of esteem and affection he made to him, and of contempt he made of Dara, he had, for all that, sent to Dara, two elephants charged with rupees of gold to raise him again, and to re-commence the war; and that therefore, in truth, it was not he that imprisoned him, but Dara, and that he might thank him for it, as the cause of all these misfortunes; and if he had not been for him, he would have come to very first day to him, and paid him all the most dutiful respects he could have looked for from a good son; that for the rest, he begged his pardon, and a little patience; as soon as he should have disabled Dara from executing his evil designs, he would come himself and open the gates to him.

I have heard it said concerning this note, that Shah-Jehan in deed, the very same night that Dara departed, had sent to him these elephants laden with rupees of gold, and that it was Rouchyara-Begum that found a way to discover

it to Aurang-Zebe ; as she also had detected to him that plot which was said against him with those Tartarian woman ; and that Aurang-Zebe himself had intercepted some letters of Shah-Jehan to Dara.

I have conversed with others, that maintain there is no such thing, and that his writing which Aurang-Zebe shewed to all, was only to cast sand into the eyes of the people and to labour, in some degree, to justify himself of so strange an action, and to devolve the cause of it upon Shah-Jehan and Dara, as these had been forced to such proceedings. They are things which are difficult enough well to discover. However it be, as soon as Shah-Jehan was shut up, almost all the Omrahs, were in a manner necessitated to go and make there court to Aurang-Zebe and Morad-Bakche ; and (which is almost incredible) there was not one that had the courage to stir or to attempt the least in the behalf of his King, and for him that had made them what they were, and raised them from the dust, and perhaps from slavery itself (which is ordinary enough in that court), to advance them to riches and honour. Yet some few there are, as Danechmend-Khan, and some others, that took no side ; but all the rest declared for Aurang-Zebe.

It is notwithstanding to be noted what I said, that they were necessitated to do what they did. For it is not in the Indies, as in France, or other states of Christendom, where the grandees and nobles have large possessions of land, and great revenues, which enables them for a while to subsist of themselves. There they have nothing but pensions (as I have already touched above, which the King can take away from them at all hours, and thus ruin them in an instant ; so that they shall be considered no more than if they never had been, nor have any credit to borrow a farthing.

Aurang-Zebe therefore having thus assured himself of Shah-Jehan, and of all the Omrahs, took what sums of money he thought fit out of the treasury ; and then having left



Shah-hest-Khan, his uncle, governor of the town, he went away with Morad-Bakche, to pursue Dara.

The day that the army was to march out of Agra, the particular friends of Morad-Bakche, especially his eunuch Shah-Abas, who knew, that the excess of civility and respect is ordinarily a sign of imposture, counselled him, that since he was King, and every body treated him with the title of majesty, and Aurang-Zebe himself acknowledged him for such, he should let him go to pursue Dara, and stay himself with his troops about Agra and Delhi. If he had followed this counsel, it is certain, that he would have embarrassed Aurang-Zebe not a little; but it was fatal, that he should neglect so good advice; Aurang-Zebe is too fortunate; Morad-Bakche entirely confideth in his promises, and in the oaths of fidelity they had sworn to one another upon the Alcoran. They went away together, and went with the same pace towards Delhi.

When they were come to Mathuras, three or four small days journey from Agra, the friends of Morad-Bakche, who perceived something, endeavoured again to persuade him that he should beware, assuring him, that Aurang-Zebe had evil designs, and that beyond all doubt some mischief was upon the anvil; that they had notice of it from all parts, and that by no means, for that day at least, he should go to see him; that it would be much better to prevent the stroke the soonest it might be; that he was only to forbear going to visit him that day, excusing himself with some indisposition. But whatsoever could be said to him, he believed nothing of it, his ears were stopped to all the good advice that was given him, and as if he had been enchanted by the friendship of Aurang-Zebe, he could not hold to go to him that very night, and to stay at supper with him. As soon as he was come, Aurang-Zebe, who expected him, and had already prepared all things with Mirkan, and three or four of his most intimate captains, who not wanting in embracements,

and redoubling his courtship, civilities and submissions, in so much as gently to pass his handkerchief over his face, and to wipe off his sweat and dust, exulting him still with the title of king and majesty. In the mean time, the table is served, they sup, the conversation grows warm, they discourse of various things as they use to do; and at last there is brought a huge bottle of excellent Chiras wine, and some other bottles of Cabul wine for a debauch. Then Aurang-Zebe, as a grave serious man, and one that would apt for a great Mahomedan, and very regular, nimbly riseth from table, and having with much kindness invited Morad-Bakche, who loved a glass of wine very well, and who relished the wine that was served, scrupled not to drink of it to excess. In a word he made himself drunk, and fell asleep. This was the thing that was wished; for presently some servants of his that were there were commanded away, under a pretence to let him sleep without making any noise; and then his zable and ponyard were taken from about him, Aurang-Zebe was not long away, but came himself and awakened him. He entered into the chamber, and roughly hit him with his foot, and when he began to open a little his eyes, he made to him this short and surprising reprimand: "What means this? (said he) What shame and what ignominy is this, that such a king as you are, should have so little temper, as thus to make yourself drunk! What will be said both of you and me! Take this infamous man, this drunkard, tie him hand and foot, and throw him into that room to sleep out his wine. No sooner said but it was executed; notwithstanding all his appeal and out-cry, five or six persons fall upon him, and fetter his hands and feet. These things could not be done, but some of his men that were thereabout had news of it, they made some noise, and would enter forcibly; but Allah-Couly, one of his chief officers, and the master of his artillery, that had been gained long before, threatened them and made them draw back. Without any delay, men were

sent through the whole army to calm this first commotion, which also might have proved dangerous; they made them believe it was nothing, they having been present; that Morad-Bakche was only drunk; that in that condition he had railed at every body, and Anrang-Zebe himself, in so much that there had been a necessity, seeing him drunk and serious, to keep him apart; that the next day they would see him abroad, after he had digested his wine. In the mean time, the presents walked about all night among the chief officers of the army, their pay was forthwith increased, they had great promises made them; and as there was none, that had long since had not apprehended some such thing, there was no great wonder to see almost all things quotted the next morning; so that the very next night this poor Prince was shut up in a little close house, such an one as is wont to be placed on elephants to carry women; and he was carried directly to Delhi into Slimager, which is a little old fortress in the midst of the river.

After that all was thus appeased, except the eunuch Shah-Abas, who caused difficulty enough, Aurang-Zebe received the whole army of Morad-Bakche into his service, and went after Dara who marched apace towards Lahore, with an intention well to fortify himself in that place, and thither to draw his friends. But Aurang-Zebe followed him with so much speed, that he had not time to do any great matter, sending himself necessitated to retreat, and to take the way of Multan, where also he could do nothing considerable, because Aurang-Zebe, notwithstanding the great heat, marched night and day; insomuch, that to encourage all to make haste, he sometimes advanced, almost all alone, two or three leagues before the whole army finding himself often obliged to drink ill water like others, to be content with a crust of dry bread, and to sleep under a tree, staying for his army in the midst of the high way; laying his head on his shield like a common soldier. So

that Dara found himself constrained to abandon Multan also; that he might avoid being near Aurang-Zebe, whom he was not able to encounter. Here it is that the statesmen in this country have reasoned very diversly: for it is said, that if Dara, when he went away of Lahore, had cast himself into the kingdom of Cabul, as he was advised, he would there have found above ten thousand warlike men, designed against the Afgans, the Persians and the Usbecs and for a guard to that country, the governor whereof was Mohabet Khan, one of the most potent and most ancient of Hindusthan, and that had never been Aurang-Zebe's friend; that, besides, he would have been there at the gate of Persia and Usbec; that it was likely, that there being no want of money all that militia, and Mohabet-Khan himself, would have embraced his party, and that further he might have drawn assistance, not only from Usbec, but also from Persia, as well as from Haumayan; whom the Persians had restored to this country against Zahar-Khan, King of the Pathans, who had driven him thence. But Dara was too unfortunate to follow so good advice. Instead of that, he went towards Scindy, to cast himself into the fortress of Tatabakar, that strong and famous place, seated in the midst of the river Indus.

Aurang-Zebe seeing him take this way, found it not fit to follow him further off, being extremely glad that he had not taken the way to Kabul. He contended himself to send after him seven or eight thousand men, under the conduct of Mir-baba, his foster-brother, and turned back with the same expedition to the place whence he was come, much apprehending lest any thing should fall out about Agra; lest some or other of those potent Rajas, as Jesseigne, or Jessomseigne, should make an attempt in his absence, to free Shah-Jehan out of prison; or lest Soliman Chekouh, together with the Raja of Serenaguer, should descend from the hills; or lest also Sultan Sujah should approach too near Agra. Behold a little accident, which one day befel him, for too great precipitation.

When he thus returned from Multan towards Lahore, and marched his ordinary swift pace, he saw the Raja Jesseigne come against him, accompanied with four or five thousand of his Rajipous, in a very good equipage. Aurang-Zebe who had left his army behind, and who also knew that this Raja was very affectionate to Shah-Jehan, was sufficiently surprised, as may easily be imagined, fearing lest this Raja should make use of this occasion, and do a master-piece of stratagem, by seizing on him to draw Shah-Jehan, out of prison, which at that time was very easy to do. Neither is it known whether this Raja had not some such design; for he had marched with extraordinary speed, in so much that Aurang-Zebe had no news of it, believing him yet to be at Delhi. But what may not resolution and presence of mind do? Aurang-Zebe, without any alteration of his countenance, marched directly towards the Raja, and as far off as he could see him, maketh signs to him with his hands, importing that he should make haste to a nearer approach, crying out to him with a loud voice, Salam Bached Rajagi, Salan Bached Babagi, treating him with the titles of Lord Raja and Lord Father. When the Raja was come to him, he expected you, said he, with great impatience; the work is done, Dara, is lost, he is all alone; I have sent Mir-baba after him, from whom he cannot escape; and for an excess of kindness to him, he took off his neck-lace of pearls, and put it about the neck of this Raja: and the sooner to rid himself handsomely of him, (for he wished him far enough). Go, saith he with all the expedition you can to Lahore, my army is somewhat tired; go quickly to attend me there; I apprehend that else something finister might fall out there; I make you governor of that place, and put all things into your hands. For the rest, I am exceedingly obliged to you for what you have done with Soliman Chekouh; where have you left Dalil-Khan? I shall find my revenge of him. Make all possible dispatch, Salamed Bached, farewell.

Dara being arrived at Tata-bakar, made governor of that place a very understanding gallant, and generous enunch, a very good garrison of Pathans and Sayeds; and for cannoneers, a good number of Franguis, Portugals, English, French, and Germans, who had followed him out of great hopes he had given them (for, if his affairs had prospered, and he were become King, we must all have resolved to be Omrahs, so many Franguis as we were. He there left also greatest part of his treasure; he wanted as yet no gold nor silver, and staying there but a very few days, he marched away with two or three there had been only, descending along the river Indus towards Scindy, and from thenceforth with an incredible celerity all those territories of the Raja Katche, he arrived at Guzeratte and came to the gates of Amadevat. The father-in-law of Aurang-Zebe called Shah-Navaze-Khan was governor there, with a very good garrison, able to resist. Yet notwithstanding, whether it was that he was surprised, or that he wanted courage, (for although that he was of those antient princes of Mâchate, yet he was no great soldier, though a man of a very obliging and civil conversation) he did not oppose Dara, but rather received him very honourably, and even managed him afterwards with so much dexterity, and Dara was so simple as to trust himself with him, and to communicate to him his designs; insomuch that he shewed him the letters which he received from the Raja Jessomseigne, and of many other of his friends, which prepared themselves to come to him; although it proved too true, what every body told him, and his friends confirmed by letters, that certainly this Shah-Navaze-Khan would betray him.

Never was any man more surprised than Aurang-Zebe when he heard that Dara was in Amedavad: for he well knew that he wanted no money, and that all his friends, and all the discontented party, which was numerous, would not fail to betake themselves by little and little to him: and

on the other side, he found it not safe to go and find him out himself in that place, by removing himself so far from Agra and Shah-Jehan, to go and embarrass himself in all those countries of the Rajas Jesseigne, and others that are in those provinces. Besides he apprehended, lest Sultan Sujah should advance with a strong army, which was already about Elebas and lest the Raja of Serenaguer should descend from the hills with Soloman Chekouh; so that he was sufficiently perplexed and troubled, not knowing what way to turn. At last he believed it best to leave Dara for a time quietly where he was, and to go thither where his presence and army was most necessary, which was towards Sultan Sujah, who had already passed the river Ganges at Elabas.

This Sultan Sujah was come to encamp in a little village called Kadjoue, and had conveniently seized himself of a great Talob, or reservatory of water, which is there in the way; and Aurang-Zebe came to place himself on the side of a small torrent, at the distance of a mile and an half from thence on Agra's side. Between both was a very fair campaign, very proper for a battle. Aurang-Zebe was no sooner arrived, but being impatient to end this war, at break of day he went to face Sujah, leaving his baggage on the other side of the torrent. He fell upon Sujah with an effort unimaginable. Amir-Jemla, prisoner of Decan, and who arrived just on the day of the combat, fearing Dara no more, because his family was more in safety, did there also lay out all his force courage and dexterity. But seeing that Sultan Sujah had well fortified himself, and was accompanied with a very good artillery advantageously placed, it was not possible for Aurang-Zebe to force him, nor to make him retreat from thence, so as to make him lose those waters. On the contrary, he was obliged himself to draw back several times, so vigorously was he repulsed, in so much that he found himself in great perplexity. Sultan Sujah not being willing to advance too far into the campaign, nor to remove from that advantageous

place where he was, pretending only to descend himself; which was very prudently done. For he foresaw, that Aurang-Zebe could not stay there long, and that in that hot season he would be absolutely obliged to turn back towards the torrent for water, and that when he should do so, he would fall upon his rear. Aurang-Zebe also saw well enough the same thing, and that was the reason why he was so forward and pressing; but behold another more troublesome accident.

In this very time he receiveth intelligence that the Raja Jessomseigne, who in appearance had accommodated himself with him was fallen upon his rear, and plundered his baggage and treasure. This news astonished him much, and the more because he perceived that his army which had heard of this was thereby frightened, and fallen into disorder. Yet he loses not his judgment for all this; and being well aware, that to turn back was to hazard all, he resolved, as in the battle of Dara, to bear up the best he could, and to expect with a steady foot all events. In the mean time, the disorder grew worse and worse in his army: Sujah who was resolved to profit of the occasion, taketh his time, and presseth him vigorously. He that led Aurang-Zebe's elephant is killed with the shot of an arrow; he leads the beast as well as he can himself till another could be had in that leader's place. Arrows rain upon him; he returns many himself, his elephant begins to be frightened, and to go back. Behold him now in great extremity, and brought to that point, that one foot of his was out of the seat, as if he meant to cast himself to the ground; and no man knows what in that trouble he had not done, if Amir Jemla, being nigh, and performing like a great man as he was, beyond imagination, called to him, in holding up his hand, Decan-kou Decan-cou, where is Decan? This seems to have been the greatest extremity, to which Aurang-Zebe could be reduced. One would have said, it was now and here that fortune had abandoned him, and there is



almost no appearance of his possibility to escape. But his good fortune is stronger than all that : Sultan Sujah must be routed, and take flight like Dara to save his life : Aurang-Zebe must remain victorious, carry away the bell and be king of the Indies.

We are to remember the battle of Samonguer, and that, in appearance, flight accident which ruined Dora ; it is the same over sight, or rather the same treason, which is now destroying Sultan Sujah. One of his chief captains, Allah-verdi-Khan, who, as some say, had been gained, useth the same artifice that Salil-ullah-Khan had employed towards Dara ; though there are some who believed, that there was no malice in the case and that it was a mere piece of flattery. For seeing that the whole army of Aurang-Zebe was in disorder, he run towards Sultan Sujah, telling him the same thing that Salil-ullah-Khan did to Dara, and begging of him with folded hands, that he would stay no longer in so great danger upon his elephant. Come down, said he, in the name of God, mount on horse-back, God hath made you sovereign of the Indies, let us pursue those fugitives, let not Aurang-Zebe escape us.

But not to stay long from declaring the strange fortune of Aurang-Zebe. and the incredible conjuncture that recovers his desperate condition ; Sultan Sujah not more considerate than Dara, commits the same fault ; and he was no sooner come down from his elephant, but his army seeing him no more, was struck with a terror, believing there was treason, and that he was either taken or slain. Whereupon they disbanded without any more ado, as Dara's army did in the battle of Samonguer ; and the defeat was so great, that the Sultan was fortunate in that he could save himself.

Jessomseigne hearing this unexpected news, and perceiving it was not very safe for him to tarry there, contented himself with the spoil he had got, and with all diligence marched straight to Agra, thence to pass to his country.

The noise was already in Agra, that Aurang-Zebe had lost the battle, that he was taken together with Amir-Jemla, and that Sultan Sujah brought them both prisoners. Insomuch that Shah-hest-Khan, who was governor of the town, and uncle of Aurang-Zebe, seeing Jessomseigne, whose treachery he had heard of, at the gates, and despairing of his life, had taken into his hand a cup of poison to make himself away, and had, as they say, in very deed swallowed it, if his women had not fallen upon him and hindered him : so that it is thought, if Jessomseigne had had the wit and courage to stay longer in Agra, if he had threatened bodily, and promised and acted vigorously for the freedom of Shah-Jehan, he might have drawn him out of prison, also much the more easily, because all Agra was for two whole days in that belief then Aurang-Zebe was overcome. But Jessomseigne, who knew how all things went, and who durst not long stay there nor attempt any thing, did nothing but pass, returning with all speed homewards.

Aurang-Zebe, who apprehended mischief from Agra, and feared lest Jessomseigne should undertake something for Shah-Jehan, was not long in the pursuit after Sultan-Sujah ; he turned short for Agra with his whole army, where he staid a good while giving order for all things. Meantime he received intelligence, that Sultan Sujah had not lost many men in his being routed, for want of farther pursuit ; that also from the lands of the Rajas, which are in those quarters, on the right and left of Ganges, he raised great forces upon the score of the reputation he had of being very rich ; and very liberal, and that he fortified himself in Elabas, that important and famous passage of Ganges, which with its fortress is the first inlet into Bengal. And when he considered also, thrt he had about him two persons, which indeed were very capable to serve him, Sultan Mahmoud his eldest son, and Amir-Jemla ; but he well knew, that those who have done good service to their prince, grow often insolent, in the

belief that all is due to them, and that they cannot be recompensed enough. He perceived already, that the former of them began very much to emancipate himself, and that every day he became more arrogant for having seized on the fortress of Agra, and by that means had broken all the designs which Shah-Jehan could have formed, and as to the latter he knew indeed the force of his understanding, his conduct and valour; but that was the very thing which made him apprehend him the more: for knowing that he was very rich that his reputation was very great, that he passed for the first mover in affairs, and for the ablest man in all the Indies he doubted not, but that after the example of Sultan Mahmoud, he entertained himself with big hopes. All this certainly would have been able to perplex an ordinary spirit, but Aurang-Zebe found a remedy to all. He knew to remove them both with so much prudence, and even with so much handsomness, that neither of them found any cause to complain of it. He sent them both against Sultan Sujah with a puissant army, letting Amir secretly know, that the government of Bengal, which is the best quarter of Hindusthan, was designed for him to hold it during his life, and for his son after his decease; and that thereby he would begin to express to him his acknowledgements for the great services he had done him; and that therefore it belonged only to him to defeat Sujah and that as soon as he should have compassed it, he would make him Mir-ul Omrahs, which is the first and most honourable place of Hindusthan, and no less than the Prince of the Omrahs.

To Sultan Mahmoud, his son, he said only these few words: Remember that thou art the eldest of my children, that it is for thyself that thou goest forth to fight; that thou hast done much, but yet nothing, if thou overcomest not Sujah, who is our greatest and powerfulest enemy; I hope, God assist,ng me, to be soon master of the rest.

With these words he dismissed them both, with ordinary

honours, that is with rich vests, some horses and elephants gallantly harnessed, making in the mean time Amir Jemla to consent that his only son, Mahmet-Amir-Khan, should stay with him for a good education, or rather for a pledge of his fidelity; and Sultan Mahmoud, that his wife should remain in Agra (which was the daughter of the above-mentioned King of Golcond) as too troublesome a thing in an army and in such an expedition.

Sultan Sujah, who was always in the apprehension lest the Rajas of the lower Bengal which he had ill treated should be raised against him, and who feared nothing more than to have to do with Amir-Jemla, had no sooner received this news but apprehending that the passage to Bengal would be obstructed and that Amir would pass in some other place of the river Ganges either lower or higher than Elabas, raised his camp, and went down to Benares and Patna, whence he betook himself to Mongiere, a small town seated upon the Ganges, a place commonly called the key of the kingdom of Bengal, being a kind of straight between the mountains and the woods, which are not far from thence. He thought fit to stay in this place, and there to fortify himself; and for greater safety, he caused a great trench to be made, which I have seen passing that way some years after, from the town and river unto the mountain, being well resolved there to attend Amir-Jemla, and to dispute that passage with him. But he was sufficiently astonished, when he was told that the troops of Amir, which slowly descended along the river Ganges, were certainly for nothing but to amuse him; that himself was not there; that he had gained the Rajas of those mountains which are on the right hand of the river; and that he and Sultan Mahmoud marched apace over their lands with all the flower of the army, drawing straight to Raj-Mahal to intercept him, so that he was constrained to quit, as soon as he could, his fortifications; yet notwithstanding he made so much haste, that though he was obliged

to follow those windings, which the river Ganges on that side maketh toward the left hand, he prevented Amir by some days, and arrived first at Raj-Mahal, where he had time to fortify himself; because Amir having heard this news took his march to the left hand towards Ganges, through very ill ways, there to expect of his troops, which came down with the body of the artillery and the baggage along the river. As soon as all was come, he went to attack Sultan Sujah, who defended himself very well for five or six days; but seeing that the artillery of Amir, which played incessantly, ruined all his fortifications which were made but of sandy earth and saggots, and that he could not but with much difficulty make resistance in that place, besides that the season of the rain began, he retired himself, at the favour of the night, leaving behind two great pieces of cannon, Amir durst not follow him in the night for fear of some ambush, putting off the pursuit till the next morning: but Sujah had the good luck, that at the break of day there began to fall a rain, which lasted above three days; so that Amir could not only not stir out of Raj-Mahal, but saw himself obliged to pass the winter there, by reason of the excessive rains in that country, which render the ways troublesome for more than four months, viz, July, August, September, and October, that the armies cannot possibly march. And hereby, Sultan Sujah had the means to retire himself, and to chose what place he would, having time enough to fortify his army, and to send out of the inferior Bengal for many pieces of cannon and a good number of Portuguese that were retired thither because of the great fertility of the country: for he much courted all those Portugal fathers, missionaries that are in that province, promising them no less than that he would make them all rich, and build churches for them whatsoever they would. And they were indeed capable to serve him, it being certain, that in the kingdom of Bengal, there are to be found no less than eight or nine thousand

families of Franguize, Portugues~~s~~, and these either natives or mesticks.

But Sultan Mahmoud, who for the reason above-mentioned was grown fierce, and aspired perhaps to greater things than at that time he ought, did pretend to command the army absolutely, and that Amir-Jemla should follow his orders, letting also from time to time fall insolent words in reference to his father Aurang-Zebe, as if he were obliged to him for the crown, and uttering expressions of contempt against Amir-Jemla; which caused great coldness to exist between them two,, which lasted a party while, until Sultan Mahmoud understood that his father was very much dissatisfied with his conduct; and apprehending lest he had ordered to seize on his person, he went away to Sultan Sujah, accompanied with a very small number, and to him he made great promises and swore fidelity. But Sujah, who {feared Aurang-Zebe and Amir-Jemla's snares, could not trust him, having always an eye upon his actions, without giving him any considerable command; with which he was so disgusted, that some months after, not knowing what would become of him, he left Sultan Sujah and returned to Amir, who received him well enough, assuring him, that he would write in his behalf to Aurang-Zebe, and do his utmost to make him forget that fault.

I think fit here to take notice, by the bye, of what many have told me, viz, that this escape of Sultan Mahmoud was altogether made by the artifices of Aurang-Zebe, who cared not much to hazard this son of his to try to destroy Sujah, and who was glad enough, that whatever the event were he might have a specious pretence to put him in a place of surety. However it be, he afterwards shewed himself much dissatisfied with him, and wrote to him a severe letter, in which he enjoined him to return to Delhi, but giving order in the mean time that he should not come so far; for he no sooner had passed the river Ganges, but he met with troops that stopped and put him up in a small chair, (as was done

to Morad-Bakche) and carried him to Gowalior, whence it is thought he will never be set at liberty : Aurang-Zebe by this means freeing himself from great perplexity ; who then also let his second son Sultan-Mazum know that the point of reigning is to delicate a thing, that kings must be jealous even of their own shadow ; adding, that if he be not discreet, he like may beset him which had befallen his brother, and that he ought to think Aurang-Zebe was not a man that would suffer that to be done to himself, what Shah-Jehan did to his father Jehan-Guyre, and what he had also lately seen done to Shah-Jehan.

And indeed we may on this occasion say, that if the son continue to behave himself as he hath done hitherto, Aurang-Zebe will have no cause to suspect him, and to be dissatisfied with him : and to be never appeared more careless of greatness, nor more given to devotion than he : yet I have known men of parts who believed that he is not so in good earnest but by superlative policy and craft like that of his father, which we may have the proof of in time.

Whilst all these things were thus transacted in Bengal, and that Sultan Sujah resisted, the best he could, the forces of Amir-Jemla, passing now on one side of the river Ganges or a channel, or some other river, (for that country is full of them, then on the other ; Aurang-Zebe kept himself about Agra, going to and fro, and at length, after he had also sent Morad-Bakche to Gowalior, he came to Delhi, where in good earnest he took upon him publicly to act the King, giving order for all affairs of the kingdom, and especially thinking on means to catch Dara, and to get him out of Guzerat, which was a very hard thing, for the reasons already mentioned. But the great good fortune, and the singular dexterity of Aurang-Zebe soon drew him thence ; what now follows is next to be related.

Jessomseigne, who had retired himself to his country, and made the best of what he had taken in the battle of Kadjoue, raised a strong army, and wrote to Dara, that he should come to Agra as soon as he could, and that he would join with his forces. Dara, who had by this time set on foot a pretty numerous army (though it consisted, for the most part, but of gathered people), and what hoped, that approaching to Agra, many of his old friends, seeing him with Jessomseigne, would not fail to join with him also, immediately leaveth Ahmedabad, and marcheth with great speed to Asmire, seven or eight days journey from Agra. But

Jessomseigne kept not his word with him : the Raja Jesseigne interposed to make his peace with Aurang-Zebe, and to fasten him to his party, or at least to hinder his design, which was capable to ruin himself, and to make all the Rajas rise ; and wrote to him several letters, giving him to understand the great danger he went to expose himself to, by espousing a party in that extremity, as that of Dara's was ; that he should well consider what he was going to do ; that he went about wholly to destroy himself, and all his whole family ; that Aurang-Zebe would never forgive him ; that he was a Raja as himself ; that he should think on sparing the blood of the Rajipous ; that if he thought to draw the Rajas to his party, he would find those that would hinder him from it. In a word that it was a business which concerned all the gentry of Hindusthan, and exposed them to danger, if way were given to kindle a fire, which would not be extinguished at pleasure. And lastly, if he would leave Dara to himself, Aurang-Zebe would forget all that had passed, and present him with all he had taken, and give him that very instant the government of Guzerat, which would be very convenient for him, that country being near his lands ; that he could be there in liberty and safety, and as long as he pleased, and that himself would be caution for all. In a word, this Raja acted his part so well, that he made Jessomseigne return to his land, whilst Aurang-Zebe approached with his whole army to Asmire, and encamped in the sight of that of Dara ;

And now what could this poor Prince Dara do ? He seeth himself abandoned and frustrated of his hopes. He considers, that to turn back safe to Ahmedabad was impossible. in regard that it was a march of thirty and five days ; that it was in the heat of summer ; that water would fall him : that they were all the lands of Rajas, friends or allies of Jesseigne or Jessomseigne ; that the army of Aurang-Zebe which was not harassed like his, would not fail to follow him. "It is as good," saith he, "to perish here ; and although the match be altogether unequal, let us venture all, and give battle once more." But alas ! what does he mean to do ? He is not only abandoned by all, but he hath yet with him Shah-Navaze-Khan, whom he trusts, and who betrays him and discovers all his designs to Aurang-Zebe. It is true, that Shah-Navaze-Khan was punished for his perfidiousness, and killed in the battle ; whether it was by the hands of Dara himself, as many told me, or (which is more probable) by some of Aurang-Zebe's army, who being secret partisans of Dara, found means to get to him and despatch



him, fearing lest he should discover them, and have some knowledge of the letters they had written to Dara. But what did it benefit him at that time that Shah-Nazave-Khan was dead? Dara should have sooner followed the advice of his friends, and never have confided in him.

The fight began between nine and ten of the clock in the morning: Dara's artillery, which was very well placed on a little eminence, was loud enough; but, as was said, most of the pieces without bullets, so was he betrayed by all. It is needless to relate the other particulars of this battle; it was properly not a battle, but a rout. I shall only say that hardly the onset was begun, but Jesseigne was near and in sight of Dara, to whom he sent word, that he should fly presently, unless he would be taken. So that this poor Prince being altogether surprised, was constrained to run away instantly, and with so much disorder and precipitation, that he had not leisure to put up his baggage. It was no small matter that he was able to get away with his wife, and the rest of his family. And it is certain, that if the Raja Jesseigne would have done what he could, he could never have escaped; but he always had a respect to the royal family; or rather he was too crsty and politic and had too great forecast to venture to lay hands on a Prince of the blood.

This unfortunate Prince, deserted by almost all, and finding himself accompanied but of two thousand men at last was forced on the hottest of summer to cross without tents or baggage, all those countries of the Rajas, that are almost from Asmire to Ahmedavad. Meantime the Koullis, which are the country people, and the worst of all the Indies and the greatest robbers, follow him night and day, rifle and kill his soldiers, with so much cruelty that no man could stay two hundred paces behind the body but he was presently stripped naked, or butchered upon the least resistance. Yet notwithstanding Dara made shift to get near Ahmedavad when he hoped that the next day, or soon after, he should enter into the town to refresh himself, and to try once more to gather again some forces: but all things fall out contrary to vanquished and unfortunate men.

The governor whom he had left in the castle of Ahmedavad, had already received both menacing and promising letter from Aurang-Zebe, which made him lose courage, and incline to that side; insomuch that he wrote to Dara, forbidding him to come nearer, if he did, he would find the the gates shut, and all in arms.

Three days before I met this unhappy Prince, by a strange accident, when he obliged me to follow him, having no physician about him; and the night before that he received this news from the governor of Amedevad, he did me the favour to make me come into the Karavan-Serrak where he was, fearing lest the Koullis should assassinate me: and (what is hard enough to believe in Hindustan, where grandees especially are so jealous of their wives) I was so near to the wife of this Prince, that the cords of the Kanates, or wind-screen, which enclosed them (for they had not so much as a poor tent) were fastened to the wheels of my chariot. I relate this circumstance by the by, only, to shew the extremity Dara was reduced to.

When these women heard this sad news (which was at the break of day, as I well remember) they broke out upon a sudden into such strange cries and lamentations that they forced tears from one's eyes. And now behold all was in an inexpressible confusion: every one looks upon his neighbour, and nobody knows what to do, or what will become of him. Soon after we saw Dara come forth, half dead, now speaking to one, then to another, even to the meanest soldiers. He seeth all astonished, and ready to abandon him. What council? whither can he go? He must be gone instantly. You may judge of the extremity he must needs be in, by this small accident I am going to mention. Of three great oxen of Guzaratte, which I had for my chariot, one died the night before, another was dying, and the third was tired out (for we had been forced to march for three days together, almost night and day, in an intolerable heat and dust:) whatever Dara could say or command, whether he alleged it was for himself, or for one of his women that was hurt in the leg, or for me, he could not possibly procure for me, whether ox, or camel, or horse: so that he was obliged, to my good fortune, to leave me there. I saw him march away, and that with tears in

his eyes, accompanied with four or five hundred cavalries at most, with two elephants, that were said to be laden with gold and silver ; and I heard them say, that they were to take their march towards Tatabakar ; for he had no other game to play, though even that seemed in a manner impossible, considering the small number of people left him, and the great sandy deserts to be waded through in the hottest season, most of them without water fit to drink. And indeed most of those that followed him, and even divers of his women, did there perish, either of drought, or the unwholesome waters, or the tiresome ways and ill food, or lastly, because stripped by the Koullis above mentioned. Yet notwithstanding all this, Dara made hard shift to get to the Raja Katch ; unhappy even herein, that he perished not himself in this march.

This Raja at first gave him a very good reception, even so far as to promise him assistance with all his forces, provided he would give his daughter in marriage to his son. But Jesseigne soon wrought as much with this Raja, as he had done with Jessomseigne. So that Dara one day seeing the kindness of this barbarian cooled upon a sudden, and that consequently his person was in danger there, he betakes himself to the pursuit of his expedition to Tatabakar.

To relate how I got away from those robbers, the Koullis, in what manner I moved them to compassion, how I saved the best part of my small treasure, how we became good friends by the means of my profession of physic, my servants (perplexed as well as myself) swearing that I was the greatest physician of the world, and that the people of Dara, at their going away, had ill-treated me, and taken me from all my best things ; how, after having kept me with them seven or eight days, they had so much kindness and generosity as to lend me an ox, and to conduct me so far, that I was in sight of Amedevad : and lastly, how from thence after some days I returned to Delhi, having lighted

on an occasion to go with a certain Omrah, passing thither; in which journey I met from time to time, on the way, with numbers of men, elephants, oxen, horses, and camels, the remainder of that unfortunate army of Dara. These are things, I say, I must not insist upon to describe them.

Whilst Dara advanced towards Tatabakar, the war continued in Bengal, and much longer than was believed, Sultan Sujah putting forth his utmost, [and playing his last game against Emir-Jemia. Yet this did not much trouble Aureng-Zebe, who knew it was a great way between Bengal and Agra, and was sufficiently convinced of the prudence and valour of Emir-Jemla. That which disquieted him much more was, that he saw Soliman Chekouh so near, (for from Agra to the mountains it is but eight days journey) whom he could not master, and who perpetually alarmed him by the rumours that went continually about, as if he were coming down the mountains with the Raja. It is certainly very hard to draw him thence: but behold how he manages the matter to compass it.

He maketh the Rajah Jesseigne write one letter after another to the Raja of Serenaguer, promising him very great things, if he would surrender Soliman Chekouh to him, and menacing war at the same time, if he should obstinately keep him. The Raja answers, that he would rather lose his estate, than do so unworthy an action. And Aureng-Zebe, seeing his resolution, taketh the field, and marcheth directly to the foot of the hills, and with an infinite number of pickemen causeth the rocks to be cut, and the passage to be widened. But the Raja laughs at all that; neither hath he more cause to fear on that side. Aureng-Zebe may cut long enough, they are mountains inaccessible to an army, and stones would be sufficient to stop the forces of four Hindustans; so that he was constrained to turn back again.

Dara in the mean time approacheth to the fortress of Tatabakar, and when he was but two or three days journey

off, he received the news, that Mir-baba, who had long held it besieged, had at length reduced it to extremity : as I afterwards learned of our French, and other Franguis that were there, a pound of rice and meat having cost there above a crown, and so of other victuals in proportion : yet the governor held out ; made sallies, which extremely incommoded the enemy ; and shewed all possible prudence, courage and fidelity ; deriding the endeavours of the general, Mir-baba, and all the menaces and promises of Aureng-Zebe.

And this also I learned afterwards of my countrymen the French, and of all those other Franguis that were with him ; who added, that when he heard that Dara was not far off, he redoubled his liberalities and knew so well to gain the hearts of all his soldiers, and to encourage them to do bravely, that there was not one of them, that was not resolved to sally out upon the enemy, and to hazard all to raise the siege, and to make Dara enter ; and that he also knew so well to cast fear and terror into the camp of Mir-baba, by sending spies about very cunningly to assure that they have seen Dara approach with great resolution, and very good forces ; that if he had come, as was believed he would do every moment, the army of the enemy was for disbanding upon his appearance, and even in part go over to him. But he is still too unfortunate, to undertake any thing prosperous. Believing therefore, that to raise the siege with such an handful of men as he had was impossible, he did deliberate to pass the river Indus, and to endeavour to get into Persia ; although that would also have had mighty difficulties and inconveniences, by reason of the desarts, and the small quantity of good waters in those parts ; besides, that upon those frontiers there are but mean Rajas and Pautans, who acknowledge neither the Persian nor the Mogul. But his wife did very much dissuade him from it, for this weak reason, that he must, if he did so, expect to see his wife

and daughter slaves to the King of Persia ; that that was a thing altogether unworthy of the grandeur of his family, and it was better to die, than to undergo this infamy.

Dara being in great perplexity, remembered that there was thereabout a certain Pathan, powerful enough, called Gion-Khan, whose life he had formerly saved twice, when Shah-Jehan had commanded he should be cast under the feet of an elephant, for having rebelled divers times ; he resolved to go to him, hoping that he could give him sufficient succours to raise the siege of Tatabakar ; making account, that thence he would take his treasure, and that going from thence, and gaining Kandahar, he could cast himself into the kingdom of Kabul, having great hopes of Mohabet-Khan, who was governor of it, because he was both potent and valiant, well-beloved of his country, and had obtained this government by his (Dara's) favour. But his grandchild Sepe-Shekouh, yet but very young, seeing his design, cast himself at his feet, entreating him for God's sake not to enter into the country of that Pathan. His wife and daughter did the same, remonstrating to him, that he was a robber, a revolted governor, that he would infallibly betray him ; that he ought not to stand upon raising of the siege, but rather endeavour to gain Kabul, that the thing was not impossible, forasmuch as Mir-baba was not like to quit the siege to follow him, and to hinder him from getting thither.

Dara being carried headlong by the force of his unhappy destiny rejected this council and would hearken to nothing of what was proposed to him, saying, as was true, that the march would be very difficult, and very dangerous ; and maintained always, that Gion-Khan would not be so mean as to betray him, after all the good he had done him. He departed, notwithstanding all that could be said to him, and went to prove, at the price of his life, that no trust is to be given to a wicked man.

This robber, who at first believed that he had numerous troops following him, gave him the fairest reception that could be, and entertain him with very great kindness and civility in appearance, placing his soldiers here and there among his subjects, with a strict order to treat them well and to give them what refreshments the country afforded : but when he found that he had not above two or three hundred men in all, he quickly shewed what he was. It is not known whether he had not received some letters from Aurang-Zebe, or whether his avarice had not been tempted by some mules said to be laden with gold ; which was all that could be saved hitherto, as well from the hands of robbers, as of those that conveyed it. Whatever it be, on a certain morning, when no body looked for any such thing, all being taken up with the care of refreshing themselves, and believing all to be safe ; behold this traitor, who had bestirred himself all night to get armed men from all parts, fell upon Dara and Sepe-Chekouh, killed some of their men that stood up to defend themselves ; forgot not to seige on the loads of the mules, and of all the jewels of the women ; made Dara to be tied fast upon an elephant, commanding the executioner to sit behind, and you cut off his head upon the least sign given, in case he should be saen to re-ist, or that any one should attempt to deliver him. And in this strange posture he was carried to the army before Tatabakar, where he put him into the hands of Mir-baba, the general who caused him to be conducted in the company of this same traitor to Lahore, and thence to Delhi. \*

When he was at the gates of Delhi, it was deliberated by Aurang-Zebe, whether he should be made to pass through the midst of the city, or no, to crrry him thence to Gowalior. Many did advice, that that was by no means to be done ; that some disorder might arise ; that some might come to save him ; and besides, that it would be a great

dishonour to the family royal. Others maintained the contrary, viz., that it was absolutely necessary he should pass through the town, to astonish the world, and to shew the absolute power of Aurang-Zebe, and to disabuse the people, that might still doubt, whether it were himself, as indeed many Omrahs did doubt; and to take away all hopes from those, who still preserved some affection for him. The opinion of these last was followed; he was put on an elephant, his grandchild, Sepe-Chekouh, at his side; and behind them was placed Bhadur-Khan as an executioner. This was none of those brave elephants of Ceilan or Pegu, which he was wont to ride on, with gilt harness and embroidered covers, and seats with canopies very handsomely painted and gilt, to defend themselves from the sun: it was an old caitiff animal, very dirty and nasty, with an old torn cover, and a pitiful seat, all open. There was no more seen about him, that necklace of big pearls, which those princes are wont to wear, nor those rich turbans and vests embroidered. All his dress was a vest of coarse lilen, all dirty and a turban of the same, with a wretched scarf of Kashmere over his head, like a varlet; his grand-son, Sepe-Chekouh, being in the same equipage. In this miserable posture he was made to enter into the town, and to pass through the greatest streets of merchandise, to the end that all the people might see him, and entertain no doubt any more whether it was he.

As for me I fancied we went to see some strange massacre, and was astonished at the boldness of making him thus pass through the town, and that the more because I knew that he was very ill guarded, neither was I ignorant, that he was very much beloved by the lower sort of people, who at that time exclaimed highly against the cruelty and tyranny of Aurang-Zebe, as one that kept his father in prison, as also his own son Sultan Mahomed, and his brother Morad-Bakche. I was well prepared for it, and with a good



horse and two good men I went, together with two others of my friends, to place myself in the greatest street where he was to pass. But not one man had the boldness to draw his sword, only there were some of the Fakirs, and with them some poor people, who seeing that infamous Gion-Khan ride by his side, began to rail and throw stones at him and to call him traitor. All the shops were ready to break for the crowd of spectators, that wept bitterly; and there was heard nothing but loud outcries and lamentations, invectives and curses, heaped on Gion-Khan. In a word, men and women, great and small (such is the tenderness of the hearts of the Indians) were ready to melt into tears for compassion; but not one there was that durst stir to rescue him. Now after he had thus passed through the town, he was put into a garden called Heider-Abad.

There were not wanting to tell Aurang-Zebe, how the people at this side had lamented Dara, and cursed the Patanh that had delivered him; and how the same was in danger to have been stoned to death, as also that there had been a great apprehension of some sedition and mischief. Here-upon another council was held, whether he should be carried to Gowalior, as had been concluded before; or whether it were not more expedient to put him to death without more ado? Some were of opinion, that he should go to Gowalior with a strong guard; that that would be enough; Danechmend-Khan, though Dara's old enemy, insisting much upon that. But Rouchenara-Begum, in pursuance of her hatred against this brother of hers, pushed Aurang-Zebe to make him away, without running the danger there was of sending him to Gowalior; as also did all his old enemies, Salil-ullah-Khan, and Shah-hest-Khan, and especially a certain flatterer, a physician, who fled out of Persia, first being called Hakim-Daoud, and afterwards become a geart Omrah named Takarrub-Khan: this villain bodily rose up in a full assembly, and cried out, that it was expedient

for the safety of the state. to put him to death immediately, and that the rather, because he was no Mussulman; that long since he was turned Kafir, idolator, without religion, and that he would charge the sin of it upon his own head; of which imprecation he soon after felt the smart; for within a short time he fell into disgrace, and was treated like an infamous fellow, and died miserably. But Aurang-Zebe, carried away by these instances and motives, commanded that he should be put to death, and that Sepe-Chekouh, his grandchild, should be sent to Gowalior.

The charge of this tragical execution was given to a certain slave called Nazer, that had been bred by Shah-Jehan, and was known to have been formerly ill treated by Dara. This executioner, accompanied with three or four parricides or more went to Dara, who was then himself dressing some lentils with Sepe-Chekouh his grandchild. He no sooner saw Nazir, but cried out to Sepe-Chekouh, "My dear son, behold those that come to kill us!" laying hold at the same time on a small knife, which was all the arms that were left him. One of these butchers immediately fell upon Sepe-Chekouh; the others upon the arms and legs of Dara, throwing him to the ground and holding him under, till Nazir cut his throat. His head was forthwith carried to the fortress to Aurang-Zebe, who presently commanded it to be put on a dish, and that water should be fetched; which when brought, he wiped it with an handkerchief, and after he had caused the face to be washed clean, and the blood done away, and was fully satisfied that it was the very head of Dara, he fell aweeping, and said these words; *Ah, Bed-bakt!* "ah, unfortunate man!" Take it away, and bury it in the sepulchre of Hoimayon.

At night, the daughter of Dara was brought into the seraglio, but afterwards sent to Chah-Jehan, and Begum-Saheb, who asked her of Aureng-Zebe. Concerning Dara's wife, she had ended her days before at Lahor: she had

poisoned herself, foreseeing the extremities she was falling into, together with her husband. Sepe-Chekouh was sent to Goualeor. And after a few days, Gion-Kan was sent for, to come before Aureng-Zebe in the assembly : to him were given some presents, and so he was sent away ; but being near his lands, he was rewarded according to his desert, being killed in a wood. This barbarous man not knowing, or not considering, that if kings do sometimes permit such actions for their interest, yet they abhor them, and sooner or later revenge them.

In the mean time the governor of Tatabakar, by the same orders that had been required of Dara was obliged to surrender the fortress. It was indeed upon such a composition as he would have, but it was also with an intention not to keep word with him : for the poor eunuch, arriving at Lahore, was cut in pieces, together with those few men he had then with him by Kalil-ullah-Khan, who was governor thereof. But the reason of the non-observance of the capitulation was, that there was some intelligence, that he secretly prepared himself to go directly to Soliman-Chekouh, sparing no gold, which underhand he conveyed into the hands of our Fran- nese, and to all those that were come with him out of the fortress to follow him, under pretext of accompanying him as far as Delhi to Aurang-Zebe, who had often said, that he should be very glad to see so gallant a man, and who had so valiantly defended himself.

There remained therefore none of the family of Dara, but Soliman Chekouh, who should not easily be drawn away from Serenaguer, if the Raja had been steady to his first declarations. But the secret practices of the Raja Jesseigne, the promises and threats of Aurang Zebe, the death of Dara and the other Rajas his neighbours that had been gained, and were prepared by the orders, and at the cost of Aurang-Zebe, to make war against him, did at last shake the faith of this perfidious protector, and made him consent to their

demands. Soliman-Chekouh, who was advertised of it, fled to Tibet. But the son of the Raja, soon pursuing and overtaking him, caused him to be assaulted with stones. The poor Prince was hurt, seized, and carried to Delhi, where he was imprisoned in Serenguer, that little fortress, where at first they had put Morad-Bakche.

Aurang-Zebe, to observe what he had practised towards Dara, and that no body might doubt it was Soliman-Chekouh himself commanded him to be brought before him in the presence of all the grandees of the court. At the entry of the gate, the chains were taken from his feet leaving those he had about his hands, which seemed guilt. When this poor young man, so handsome and gallant, was seen to enter, there was a good number of Omrahs that could not hold their tears; and, as I was informed, all the great ladies of the court, that had leave to see him come in, fell weeping. Aurang-Zebe, who appeared himself to be touched at his misfortunes, began to speak very kindly to him, and to comfort him; telling him, amongst other things, that he should fear nothing, that no hurt should be done to him; on the contrary, that he should be well treated, and therefore be of good courage; that he had caused his father to be put to death for no other reason, than that he was turned Kafir, and a man without religion. Whereupon this young prince returned him the salam, and blessed him, abasing his hands to the earth, and lifting them, as well as he could, up to his head, after the custom of the country, and told him with resolution enough, that if he were to drink the poust, he entreated him that he might die presently, being very willing to submit to his fate. But Aurang-Zebe promised him publicly that he should drink none of it; that he should rest satisfied as to that, and not entertain any sad thoughts about it. This being said, he once more repeated the salam; and after they had asked him several questions, in the name of Aurang-Zebe, touching that elephant which was charged

with rupees of gold, taken from him when he went to Sere-naguer, he was sent to Gowalior to the rest. This poust is nothing else but poppy expressed, and infused a night in water. And it is that potion, which those that are kept at Gowalior are commonly made to drink; I mean those princes whose heads they think not fit to cut off. This is the first thing that is brought them in the morning, and they have nothing given them to eat till they have drank a great cup full of it; they would rather let them strave. This emaciates them exceedingly, and maketh them die insensibly they losing little by little their strength and understanding, and growing torpid and senseless. And by this very means it is said that Sepe-Chekouh, and the grand child of Morad-Bakche, and Soliman-Chekouh, were despatched.

As to Morad-Bakche, he was made away by a more violent death. For Aurang-Zebe seeing that, though he was in prison, yet the generality had an inclination to him, and that many verses were spread in praise of his valour and courage, thought himself not safe enough by putting him to death in private, by giving him poust like others; apprehending, that his death would be still doubted of, and that that might one time or other occasion some commotion, and therefore devised the following charge against him.

The children of a certain Syed, very rich, whom he had caused to be put to death in Ahmedabad, to get his estate when he there made his preparations for war, and borrowed, or took by force, great sums of money from all the rich merchants, appeared in full assembly, making their complaints, and demanding justice, and the head of Morad-Bakche, for the blood of their father. Not one of the Omrahs durst contradict it, both because he was a Syed, that is, one of Mahomet's kindred, to whom great veneration was paid; and that every body sufficiently understood the design of Aurang-Zebe, taking this for a pretence to rid himself openly of Morad-Bakche, under a shew of justice. So that the

head of him, that had killed the father of the plaintiffs, was granted them without any other form of process. Whereupon they went with necessary orders issued out for that purpose, to cut it off in Gowalior.

There remained no other thorn in the foot of Aurang-Zebe but Sultan Sujah, who kept himself still in Bengal; but he also was forced to yield at last to the power and fortune of Aurang-Zebe. There were sent so many troops of all sorts to Amir-Jemla, that at last he was encompassed on all sides, both on this and that side of the river Ganges; so that he was necessitated to fly to Dake, which is the last town of Bengal on the sea side; and here comes the conclusion of this whole tragedy.

This prince being destitute of ships to put to sea, and not knowing whither to fly, sent his eldest son, Sultan Banque, to the King of Racan or Moy, a heathen or idolatrous king, to know whether he would give him leave to make his country his place of refuge only for some time, and do him the favour, when the monsons, or the season winds should come, to furnish him with a vessel for Mecha, from thence to pass into some part of Turkey or Persia; that king sent answer that he should be very welcome, and have all possible assistance. So Sultan Banque returned to Dake with some galleasses, manned with Franguis, (I mean with those fugitive Portugeze, and other straggling Christians that, had put themselves in service to that King, driving no other trade than to ravage all this lower Bengal; upon which Sultan Sujah embarked, with his whole family. viz. his wife, three sons and daughters. They were well enough received; whatever was necessary for their subsistence, such as that country would afford was provided for them, in the name of that king. Some months pass, the season of the favourable winds come in, but not a word of the vessel, though he demanded it no otherwise than for his money; for as yet he wanted no rupees of gold, nor silver, nor gems; he had too

great a plenty of them : his riches were, in all appearance, but the cause of his ruin, or at least contributed much to it. Those barbarous kings have no true generosity, and are not much refrained by the faith they have given, regarding nothing but their present interests, without so much as considering the mischief that may befall them for their perfidiousness and brutality. To get out of their hands, one must either be the stronger, or have nothing that may tempt their avarice. Sultan Sujah may long enough solicit for a vessel ; all is in vain, the effects nothing : on the contrary, the King begins to shew much boldness, and to complain of his not coming to see him. I know not, whether Sultan Sujah thought it unworthy of himself, and too mean a thing to give him a visiting rather, whether he feared, that being in the King's house, he might not there be seized on to take away all his treasure, and then be delivered into the hands of Amir-Jemlo, who for that purpose promised, in the name of Aurang-Zebe, great sums of money, and many other considerable advantages. Whatever the matter was, he would not go thither himself, but sent his son Sultan Banque, who being near the King's house, began to shew liberality to the people, throwing out of them a good quantity of half rupees, and whole rupees, of gold and silver. And being come before the King, he presented him with store of embroideries, and of rare pieces of goldsmith's work, set with precious stones of great value, excusing his father Sultan Sujah, as being indisposed, and beseeching him in his name that he would remember the vessel, and the promise made to him thereof. But all that did not advance his business ; on the contrary, five or six days after, this king sent to Sultan Sujah, to ask of him one of his daughters in marriage ; which he could never resolve to grant him, whereat this barbarous prince was highly offended. What then could he do in this case ? The season passeth away. What shall become of him ? What other resolution can he

taken but to do a desperate action? Behold a strange undertaking, which may give a great example of what despair can do!

Although this King Rakan be an heathen, yet there is in his dominions store of Mahomedans mingled with the people that are retired thither, or have been, for the most part, taken slaves, here and there by those Franguis above mentioned. Sultan Sujah did under-hand gain these Mahomedans; and with two or three hundred men, whom he yet had remaining of those that had followed him from Bengal he resolved, one day to fall unexpectedly upon the house of this barbarian, to kill all, and to make himself proclaimed king of Racan. This was a very bold enterprize, and such a one, as had more of a desperado in it, than of a prudent man. Yet notwithstanding, as I was informed, and by what I could learn from many Mahomedans and Portugueze, and Holanders, that then were there present, the thing was sensible enough. But the day before the stroke was to be given, the design was discovered; which did altogether overthrow the affairs of Sultan Sujah, and was soon after the cause of his ruin. For not finding hereafter any way more to recover himself, he attempted to fly towards Pegu; which was a thing in a manner impossible, by reason of the vast mountains and forests to be passed. Besides, he was immediately pursued to close, that he was overtaken the same day he fled, It may well be thought, that he descended himself with as much courage as possible. He killed so many of those barbarians, that it will scarce be believed; but he was so overpowered by the multitude of pursuers, obliged to quit the combat. Sultan Banque, who was not so far advanced as his father, descended himself also like a lion; but at length, being all bloody of the wounds, by stones poured upon him from all sides, he was seized on, and carried away, with his two little brothers, his sisters, and mother.



As to the person of Sultan Sujah himself, all that could be learnt of it, is this ; that he with one woman, one eunuch and two other persons, got up to the top of the mountain ; that he received a wound in his head by a stone, which stuck him down, and yet he rose again, the eunuch having wound his head about with his turban, and that they escaped through the midst of the woods.

I have heard the relation three or four other manner and ways, even by those persons that were upon the place. Some he assure, that he had been found among the dead, but was not well known ; and I have seen a letter of the chief of the Dutch factory, confirming this. So that it is difficult enough to know aright what is become of him. and this it is, which hath administered ground to those so frequent alarms, given us afterwards at Delhi : for at one time it was rumoured, that he was arrived at Maslipatan, to join with the kings of Golconda and Visapour ; another time it was related for certain, that he had passed in sight of Surat with two ships, bearing the red colours, which the King of Pegu or the King of Siam had given him ; by an by, that he was in Persia, and had been seen in Chiras, and soon after in Kandahar. ready to enter into the kingdom of Kabul itself. Aurang-Zebe one day said smiling that Sultan Sujah was at last become a hágy or pilgrim. And at this very day teere are abundance of persons who maintain, that he is in Persia, returned from Constantinople, whence he is said to have brought with him much money. But that which confirms more than enough, that there is no ground for any of these reports. is that letter of the Hollanders ; and that an eunuch of his, with whom I travelled from Bengal to Maslipatan, as also the great master of his artillery, whom I saw in the service of the King of Golconda, have assured me, that he is no more in being. though they made difficulty to say any more concerning him ; as also, that our French merchants, that lately came out of

Persia and from Hispahan, when I was yet at Delhi, and in those parts heard no news at all of him ; besides that, I have heard that a while after his defeat his sword and poignard had been found : so that it is credible, that if he was not killed upon the place, he soon died afterwards, and was the prey of some robbers, or tigers, or elephants, of which the forests of that country are full. However it be, after this last action his whole family was put in prison, wives and children, where they were treated rudely enough ; yet sometime after they were set at more liberty, and they received a milder entertainment ; and then the King called for the eldest daughter, whom he married.

Whilst this was doing, some servants of Sultan Banque, joined with divers of those Mahomedans, which I have mentioned, went to plot another conspiracy lik the first. But the day appointed for it being come, one of the conspirators being half drunk, began too soon to break out. Concerning this also I have heard forty different relations, so that it is very hard to know the truth of it. That which is undoubted is this, that the King was at length so exasperated against this unfortunate family of Sujah, that he commanded it should be quite rooted out. Neither did there remain any one of it, that was not put to death, save that daughter which the king had made his wife. Sultan Banque, and his brothers had their heads cut off with blunt axes ; and the woman were immured up, where they died of hunger and misery.

And thus endeth this war, which the lust of reigning had kindled among those four brothers, after it had lasted five or six years, from 1655, or thereabout, to 1660 or 1661 ; which left Aurang-Zebe in the peaceable possession of puissant empire.

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*Particular Events; or the most considerable Passages after  
the War of five Years, or thereabout, in the Eemire  
of the Great Mogul.*

THE war being ended, the Tartars of Osbec entertained thoughts of sending ambassadors to Aurang-Zebe. They had seen him fight in their country, when he was yet a young prince; Shah-Jehan having sent him to determine the successors which the Khan of Samarkand had desired of him, against the Khan of Balk. They had experienced his conduct and valour on many occasions, and they considered with themselves, but he could not but remember the affront they did him, when he was just taking Balk, the capital town of the enemy; for the two Khans agreed together, and obliged him to retreat, alleging, that they apprehended he might render himself master of their whole state, just as Akbar had formerly done of the kingdom of Kashmere. Besides, they had certain intelligence of all he had done in Hindusthan, of his battles, fortunes, and advantages; whence they might sufficiently estimate, that though Shah-Jehan was yet living, yet Aurang-Zebe was master, and the only person that was to be crowned King of India. Whether then they feared his just resentments, or whether it was that their inbred avarice and sordidness made them hope for some considerable presents. the two Khans sent to him their ambassadors to offer him their service, and to congratulate him upon the happy beginning of his reign. Aurang-Zebe saw very well, that the war being at an end, this offer was out of season, and that it was nothing but fear or hope, as we said, that had brought them. Yet for all this, he received them honourably; and, since I was present at their audience, I can relate the particulars of it with certainty.

They made their reverence at a considerable distance from him, after the Indian custom, putting thrice their hands

upon their heads, and as often letting them down to the ground. Then they approached so near, that Aurang-Zebe himself might very well have taken their letters immediately from their hands; but yet it was an Omrah that took and opened them, and gave them to him. He forthwith read them with a very grave countenance; and afterwards commanded, there should be given to each of them an embroidered vest, a turban, and a girdle of silk in embroidery, which is that which they call ser-apah, that is, an habit from head to foot. After this, their presents were called for, which consisted in some boxes of choice lapis lazulus, divers camels with long hair, several gallant horses, some camel-loads of fresh-fruit, as apples, pears, raisins, and melons, (for it is chiefly Usbec that furnishes these sorts of fruit, eaten at Delhi all the winter long); and in many loads of dry fruit, as prunes of Bokara, apricots, raisins without any stones, and there appeared two other sorts of raisins, black and white, very large and very good.

Aurang-Zebe was not wanting to declare how much he was satisfied with the generosity of the Khans, and much commended the beauty and rarity of the fruit, horses, and camels; and after he had a little entertained them of the state of the academy of Samarkand, and of the fertility of their country, abounding in so many rare and excellent things, he desired them to go and repose themselves, intimating withal, that he should be very glad to see them often.

They came away from their audience full of contentment and joy, not being much troubled, that they had been obliged to make their reverence after the Indian custom, though it have something of slavish in it; nor much resenting it, that the king had not taken their letters from their own hands. I believe if they had been required to kiss the ground, and even to do something of a lower nature, they would have complied with it. It is true, it would have been in vain, if

they had desired to make no other salute but that of their own country, and to deliver to the King, their letters with their own hands; for that belongs only to the ambassadors of Persia, nor have these this favour granted them but with much difficulty.

They stayed above four months at Delhi, what diligence soever they could use to be dispatched, which did incommode them very much; for they fell amongst all sick, and even some of them died, because they were not accustomed to such heats as are in Hindusthan, or rather because they would not, did, and kept a very ill diet. I know not whether there be a more avaricious and uncleanly nation than they are. They laid up the money which the King had appointed them for their maintainance, and lived a very miserable life altogether unworthy of ambassadors. Yet they were dismissed with great honour. The King in the presence of all the Omrahs, presented each of them with two rich ser-apahs, and gave order, that eight thousand rupees should be carried to their lodgings, which amounted to near two thousand crowns each. He also gave them, for presents to the Khans their masters, very handsome ser-apahs, stores of the richest and best wrought embroideries, a good quantity of fine cloth, and silk stuffs, wrought with gold, silver, and some tapestries, and two poniards set about with precious stones.

During their stay, I went thrice to see them, being presented to them as a physician by one of my friends, that was son of an Usbec, that had made his fortune in that court. I had a design to have learned something in particular of their country, but I found them so ignorant, that they knew not so much as the confines of their state, much less could they inform me of any thing concerning the Tartars that have conquered China of late years. In short, they told me nothing that I knew not before. I had once the curiosity to dine with them, which liberty I obtained easily

enough. They are not men of much ceremony ; it was a very extraordinary meal for such a one as I, it being mere horse-flesh ; yet for all this I got my dinner with them ; there was a certain ragout which I thought passable : and I was obliged to express a liking of so exquisite a dish, which they so much lust after. During dinner there was a strange-silence ; they were very busy in carrying it with their whole hands, for they know not what a spoon is ; but after that this horse-flesh had wrought in their stomachs, they began to talk, talk and then they would persuade me, they were the most dexterous at bows and arrows, and the strongest men in the world. They called for bows which are much bigger than those of Hindustn, and would lay a wager, to pierce an ox or my horse through and through. Then they proceeded to commend the strength and valour of their women, which they described to me quite otherwise than the Amazons ; telling me very wonderful stories of them, especially one which would be admirable indeed, if I could not relate it with a Tartarian eloquence as they did. They told me, that at the time when Aurang-Zebe made war in their country, a party of twenty-five or thirty Indian horsemen came to fall upon a small village ; whilst they plundered and tied all those whom they met with to make them slaves, an old woman said to them ; "Children, be not so mischievous, my daughter is not far off, she will be here very shortly, retreat if you be wise, you are undone if she light upon you." They laughed at the old woman and her advice, and continued to load, to tie, and to carry away herself ; but they were not gone half a mile, but this old woman loudly cried, made a move backward, made a great outcry of joy, perceiving her daughter coming after her for rescue, and presently this generous she-Tartar, mounted on a furious horse, with bows and arrows hanging at her side, called to them at a distance that she was yet ready to spare their lives, if they would carry to the village all they had taken, and depart

without any noise. The advice of this young woman affected them as that of her old mother; but they were soon astonished, when they found her shooting in a moment three or four great arrows, {which struck as many of their horses, and, which forced them to fall to their quivers also. But she kept her person safe from them that none of them could reach her. She laughed at their awkwardness, and at all their arrows, knowing how to attack them at the length of her spear to take her measure from the strength of her arm, which was of another length than theirs; so that after she had killed half of them with her arrows, and put them all to disorder, she came and fell upon the rest with the sabre in her hand, and cut them all in pieces.

The ambassadors of Tartery were not yet gone away from Delhi when Aurang-Zebe fell exceeding sick; a violent and continued fever made him sometimes lose his understanding : {his tongue was seized with such a palsy, that he lost almost his speech, and the physicians despaired of his recovery; nothing was heard for the time, than that he was gone, and that his sister Rauchenara Begum concealed his death out of design. It was alreadybruted, that the Raja Jessomseigne, governor of Guzerat, was on the way to deliver Shah-Jehan; that Mohabet-Khan (who had at length obeyed the orders of Aurang-Zebe), quitting the government of Kabul, and being already on this side of Lahore to come back, made haste also with three or four thousand horse for the same end; and that the eunuch Etbar-Khan, who kept Shah-Jehan in the fortress of Agra, would have the honour of his delivery. On one side we see Sultan Mazum bestir himself exceedingly with bribes, endeavouring by promises to assure himself of the Omrahs, so far, as that one night he went disguised to the Raja Jesseigne, entreating him with expressions of deep respect. that he would engage himself for his interest.

We know from their hands, that Rauchenara-Begum

together with Teday-Khan, the great master of artillery, and many Omrahs, declared for the young Prince Sultan-Akbar, the third son of Aurang-Zebe, though he was but seven or eight years old; both parties in the mean time pretending, they had no other design than to deliver Shah-Jahan: so that the people believed, that now he was going to be set at liberty, though none of the grandees had any such thing in their thoughts, spreading this rumour only to gain credit and concourse, and because they feared, lest by the means of Akbar-Khan, or some other secret intrigue, he should one day appear in the field. And indeed of all the parties, there was not one that had reason to wish for his liberty and restoration to the throne, except Jessomseigne, Mohabet-Khan and some others, that as yet had done no great matter to his disadvantage. The rest had been all against him, or at least they had vilely abandoned him. They knew very well he would be like an unchained lion if he came abroad: who then could trust him? And what could Etbar-Khan hope for, who had kept him up so close? I know not, if by some adventure or other he should come out of prison, whether he would not have stood single, and been alone of his party.

But though Aurang-Zebe was very sick, yet for all this he gave order for all things, and particularly for the sure custody of Shah-Jehan his father; and though he had advised Sultan-Mazum to go and open the gates to Shah-Jehan in case he should die, yet he omitted not to have Etbar-Khan incessantly writ to. And the fifth day in the height of his sickness, he caused himself to be carried into the assembly of the Omrahs to shew himself, and to disabuse the suspicion that they might believe him to be dead, and to obviate popular tumults, or to have caused Shah-Jehan to be set at liberty. The seventh day he made himself to be carried again into the said assembly, and what is almost incredible on the thirteenth after he had recollected



from a fit of swooning, which occasioned a rumour through the whole city that he had been dead, he called for two or three of the greatest Omrahs and let them see that he is alive, made himself to be raised in his bed, asked for a paper to write to Elbar-Khan, and sent for the great seal which he had deposited with Rauchenara-Begum, and commonly enclosed in a small bag, sealed with a seal and tied about his arm, fearing lest she had already made use of it for her designs. Shah-Jehan heard all these, when all this news was told him; and I understood, that lifting up his eyes towards Heaven, he said, "What a soul is this? A matchless fortitude and courage of yours preserve thee Aurang-Zebe for greater things: certainly he wills not that thou shalt yet die. And indeed after this fit he recovered by little and little.

He had no sooner recovered his health, but he sought to get out of the hands of Shah-Jehan and Begum Saheb, the daughter of Dara, to secure the marriage of Sultan-Akbar, his third son, with this Princess, on purpose thereby to gain him authority, and to give him the greater right to the empire; for he it is, who is thought to be by him designed for it. He is yet very young, but he hath many near and powerful relations at the court, and is born of the daughter of Shah-Navaze-Khan, and consequently of the blood of the ancient sovereigns of Machate; whereas Sultan-Mahmoud and Sultan-Mazum are only sons of Rajipontnis, or daughters of Rajas. These kings, though Mahomedans, do for all that, marry of the daughters of the heathen, either for state interest, or for extraordinary beauty. But Aurang-Zebe was disappointed in this design. It will hardly be believed, with what height and fierceness of spirit Shah-Jehan and Begum rejected the proposition, and the young Princess herself, who in the fear of being carried away, was for some days desperate, and protested she would rather kill herself an hundred times over, if it were possible, than marry the son of him that had murdered her father.

He had no better satisfaction from Shah-Jehan about certain jewels which he asked of him, in order to finish a piece of work which he caused to be added to a famous throne, which is so highly esteemed. For he fiercely answered, that Aurang-Zebe should take no other care but to rule better than he did; that he should let his throne alone; that he was weary to hear of these jewels; and that the hammers were ready to beat them to dust the first time he should be importuned against about them.

The Hollanders would not be the last in doing reverence to Aurang-Zebe; they had thoughts of sending an ambassador to him. They pitched upon Monsieur Ardican, the commander of their factory at Surat; and being a right honest man, and of good sense and judgment, not neglecting to take the counsel of his friends, he well acquitted himself of this employment. Aurang-Zebe, though he carries it very high, and affects to appear a zealous Mahomedan, and consequently to despise the Franguoze or Christian, yet thought fit to receive them with much respect and civility. He even was desirous, that this ambassador should compliment him in the mode of the Franguoze, after he had been made to do it the Indian way. It is true, he received his letters by the hand of an Omrah; but that was not to be taken for any contempt, he having shewed no more honour to the ambassadors of Usbec. After this he intimated to him that he might produce his present; and at the same time he caused him, and some of his train, to be dressed with a serapah embroidered. The present consisted of store of very fine scarlet, some large looking-glasses, and divers excellent pieces of Chinese and Japanese work, among which there was a Palkey, and a Tackravan, or a field throne of admirable work-manship.

This ambassador was not so soon dispatched as he wished, it being the custom of the Kings of Mogul to detain ambassadors as long as they well can, from a belief they have

that it is the interest of their greatness to oblige strangers to give long attendance at their court ; yet he was not kept so long as the ambassadors of Usbec. Mean time he had the misfortune that his secretary died there, and the rest of his retinue began to grow sick. When the King dismissed him, he gave him such another ser-apah embroidered, as the first was, for himself ; and another, a very high one, for the general of Batavia, together with a poignard, set about with jewels, all accompanied with a very obliging letter.

The chief aim of the Hollanders in this embassy was to make themselves immediately known to the king, thereby to gain credit, and to intimidate the governors of the sea-ports, and other places, where they have their factories ; that so they may not attempt, when they please, to insult over them, or to trouble them in their trade ; thereby letting them know, that they had to do with a potent nation, and that hath a door open to address themselves, and to complain immediately to the King. Their end also was to make it appear, what interest the King had in their commerce ; and therefore they shewed long rolls of commodities, brought up by them through the whole kingdom, and lists of considerable sums of gold and silver every year brought thither by them ; but saying not a word of those which they draw thence, from the copper, lead, cinnamon, cloves, muscadin, pepper, wood of aloes, elephants, and other commodities which they vend there. •

About this time, one of the most considerable Omrahs of Aureng-Zebe addressed himself to him, and represented, that this multitude and variety of perplexing affairs, and this perpetual attention of mind in him, might soon cause a great alteration in his temper, and a dangerous inconvenience in his health. But Aureng-Zebe seeming to take almost no notice of what that Omrah said, turned himself another way, and approaching to another of the prime Omrahs of the court, a person of great knowledge and judgment, spoke to him in

this purpose (as I was informed by the son of this lord, who was my friend) :

“ You other sages, are you not all of my mind, that there are times and conjunctions so urgent, that a king ought to hazard his life for his subjects, and sacrifice himself for their defence with arms in his hands ? And yet this effeminate man would dissuade me from taking pains, and dehorte me from watching and solicitude for the publick ; and carrying me by pretences of health, to the thought of an easy life, by abandoning the government of my people, and the management of affairs, to some Visir or other. Doth he not know, that Providence having given me a royal extraction, and raised me to the crown of Indostan, hath not made me for myself alone, but for the good and safety of the public, and for the procurement of tranquility and happiness to my subjects as far as that may be obtained by justice and power ? seeth not the consequence of his councils, and what mischiefs do attend visirships. Doth he think it to be without reason that our grand Sady hath so generously pronounced ; O kings, cease, cease to be kings, or govern your kingdoms yourselves ? Go, tell thy countryman, that I shall well like of the care he is constantly to take of the faithful discharge of his place ; but advise him also, not any more to run out himself so far as he hath done. We have natural inclination enough to a long, easy, and careless life, and there need no counsellors to shake off business and trouble. Our wives that lie in our bosom, do too often, besides our own genius, incline us that way. ”

At the same time there happened an accident, that made a great noise at Dehli, especially in the seraglio, and disabused a great many, that could as hardly believe as myself, that eunuchs, though they had their genitals quite cut away, could become amorous as other men. Didar-kan, one of the chief eunuches of the seraglio had built a house, where he came often to divert himself, fell in love with a very beauti-

ful woman, the sister of a neighbour of his, that was an heathen scrivener.

These amours lasted a good while before any body blamed them, since it was but an eunuch that made them, which sort of men have the privilege to go where they please ; but the familiarity grew so great, and so extraordinary betwixt the two lovers, that the neighbours began to suspect something, and to rally the scrivener, which did so touch him, that he threatened both his sisters and the eunuch to kill them if they should continue their commerce. And soon after, finding them in the night lying together, he stabbed the eunuch outright, and left his sister far dead. The whole seraglio, women and cunuchs, made a league together against him to make him away ; but Aureng-Zebe dissipated all these machinations, and was content to have him turn Mahometan. Meantime it is thought, he cannot long avoid the malice and power of the eunuches ; for it is not, as is the common saying, with men as with brutes ; these latter become gentler and more tractable when they are castrated ; but men more vicious, and commonly very insolent, though sometimes it turneth to an admirable fidelity and gallantry.

It was also about the same time, that Aureng-Zebe was somewhat discontented with Rauchenara-Begum, because she was suspected to have given access to two young gallants into the seraglio, who were discovered and brought before Aureng-Zebe. Yet this being but a suspicion, he expressed to her no great resentment of it ; nor did he make use of so great rigour and cruelty against those poor men, as Chah-Jehan had done against the person above spoken of. The matter was related to me by an old Portuguese woman (that had a long while been slave to the seraglio, and went out and in at pleasure), as followeth : she told me that Rauchenara-Begum, after she had drawn from a young man, hidden by her, all his ability, delivered him to some women to convey him away in the night through

some gardens, and so to save him : but whether they were discovered, or whether they feared they should be so, or what else might be the cause, they fled, and left him there wandering in the midst of those gardens, not knowing which way to get out : and being at last met with, and brought before Aureng-Zebe, who examined him stricly, but could draw nothing else from him, than that he was come in over the walls, he was commanded to get out the same way by which he entered : but it seems the eunuchs did more than Aureng-Zebe had given order for, for they cast him down from the top of the bottom. As for the other young gallant, this same woman assured me, that he was found wandering in the garden like the first ; and having confessed that he was come in by the gate, Aureng-Zebe commanded likewise that he also should pass away again by the same gate ; yet reserving to himself a severe chastisement for the eunuchs, since not only the honour of the royal house, but also the safety of the King's person, is herein concerned.

Some months after, there arrived at Dehli several ambassadors, almost at the same time. The first was Xerif of Meccha, whose present did consist of some Arabian horses : the second and third ambassadors were, he of the King of Hyeman, or Happy Arabia, and he of the Prince of Bassora, who likewise presented Arabian horses. The two remaining ambassadors were sent from the King of Ethiopia. To the three first, no great regard was given ; they appeared in so miserable and confused and equipage, that it was perceived they came only to get some money by the means of their present, and of the many horses and other merchandize, which under the pretence of ambassadors, entered without paying any duty into kingdom, there to be sold, and to buy for the money a quantity of Indian stuffs, and so to return without paying likewise any impost at all.

But as to Ethiopian embassy, that deserves to be otherwise taken notice of ; the King of Ethiopia having received

the news of the revolution of the Indies, had a design to spread his name in those parts, and there to make known his grandeur and magnificence by a splendid embassy ; or, as malice will have it, or rather as the very truth is, to reap some advantage by a present as well as the rest. Behold therefore this great embassy ! He chose for his ambassadors two persons, that one would think were the most considerable in his court, and the most capable to make such a design prosper. And who were they ? The one was a Mahometan merchant, whom I had seen some years ago at Moka, when I passed there coming out of Egypt over the Red Sea, where he was to sell some slaves for that prince, and to buy of the money raised thence, some Indian commodities. And this is the fine trade of that great Christian King of Africa. The other was a Christian merchant of Armenin, born and married in Aleppo, known in Ethiopia by the name of Murat. I had seen him also at Moka, where he had accommodated me also with the half of his chamber, and assisted me with very good advice, whereof I have spoken in the beginning of this history, as a thing taking me off from passing into Ethiopia, according to my first design. He also came every year to that place, in that king's name, for the same end that the Mahomedan did, and brought the present which the king made every year, to the gentlemen of the English and Dutch company of the East-Indies, and carried away theirs. Now the King of Ethiopia, suitably to his design, and the desire he had of making his ambassadors appear with great splendour, put himself to great expences for this embassy : he gave them twenty-two young slaves, of both sexes, to sell them at Mocca, and thence to make a sum of money to bear their charges. A wonderful largess ! Slaves are commonly sold there for twenty-five or thirty crowns a piece, one with another. A considerable sum. Besides he gave them for a present to the Great Mogul five and twenty choice slaves, among which

there were 9 or 10 very young, proper to make eunuchs of A very worthy present for a king, and he a Christian, to a Mahomedan Prince ! It seems the christianity of the Ethiopians is very different from ours. He added to that present twelve horses, esteemed as much as those of Arabia, and a kind of little mule, of which I saw the skin, which was a very great rarity, there being no tiger so handsomely speckled, nor silken stuff of India so finely, so variously, and so orderly streaked, as that was. Moreover, there were for a part of the present, two elephant's teeth, so prodigious, that they assured it was all that a very able-bodied man could do to lift up one of them from the ground. Lastly, an horn of an ox full of civet, and so big, that the apertuer of it being measured by me, when it came to Delhi, it had a diameter of half a foot, and somewhat better. All things being thus prepared, the ambassadors depart from Gondez, the capital of Ethiopia, situated in the province of Dambia and came through a very troublesome country to Beiloul, which is a dispeopled sea- port, over against Mocca, nigh to Babel-Mandal, not daring to come for reasons elsewhere to be alledged), the ordinary way of the Caravans, which is made with ease in forty days to Arkiko, and thence to pass to the Isle of Mosoua. During their stay at Beiloul, and expecting a bark to Moka, to waft over the Red Sea, there died some of their slaves, because the vessel tarried, and they found not in that place those refreshments that were necessary for them. When they came to Moka, they soon sold their merchandize to raise a stock of money according to order : but they had this ill luck, that that year the slaves were very cheap ; because the market was glutted by many other merchants ; yet they raised a sum to pursue their voyage. They embarked upon an Indian vessel to pass to Surat : their passage was pretty good ; they were not above five and twenty days at sea ; but whether it was that they had made no good provision, for want of stock, or what else



the cause might be, many of their slaves and horses, as also the mule, whereof they saved the skin died. They were no sooner arrived at Surat, but a certain rebel of Visapour, called Sivaji, came and ransacked and burned the town, and in it their house, so that they could save nothing but their letters, some slaves that were sick, or which Sivaji could not light on, their Ethiopian habits which he cared not for, and the mule's skin, and the ox's horn which was already emptied of the civet. They very much exaggerated their misfortune; but those malicious Indians that had seen them arrive in such a wretched condition, without provisions without habits, without money or bills of exchange, said, that they were very happy and should reckon the plunder of Surat for a piece of their best fortune; for as much as Sivaji had saved them the labour of bringing their miserable present to Delhi, and had furnished them with a very specious pretence for their beggarly condition, and for the sale they had made of their civet, and of some of their slaves, and for demanding of the Governor of Surat provisions for their subsistence, as also some money and chariots to continue their voyage to Delhi.

Monsieur Ardican, Chief of the Dutch factory, my friend, had given to the Armenian Murat a letter of recommendation to me, which he delivered himself at Delhi, not remembering that I had been his host at Macca. It was a very pleasant meeting when we came to know one another after the space of five or six years. I embraced him affectionately, and promised him that I would serve him in whatever I could; but that, though I had acquaintance at the court, it was impossible for me to do them any considerable good office there: for since they had not brought with them any valuable present, but only the mule's skin, and the empty ox's horn, and that they were seen going upon the streets without any palky or horses, save that of our father missionary, and mine (which they had almost killed),

cloathed like beggars, and followed with seven or eight slaves, bare-headed and bare-foot having nothing but an ugly scarfe tied between their legs, with a ragged cloth over their left shoulder, passing under their left arm like a summer cloak ; since, I said, they were in such a posture, whatever I could say for them was insignificant ; they were taken for beggars, and nobody took other notice of them. Yet notwithstanding I said so much of the grandeur of their king to my Aga Danechmend-Khan, who had cause to hearken to me, as managing all foreign affairs there, that Aurang-Zebe gave them audience, received their letters, presented them each with an embroidered vest, a silken embroidered girdle, and a turban of the same, gave order for their entertainment and dispatched them in a little time, and that with more honour than there was ground to expect : for in dismissing them, he presented them each with another such vest, and with 6000 rupees for them all, which amounteth to about 3000 crowns, of which the Mahomedan had four thousand and Murat, because a Christian, but two thousand. He also gave them for a present to their master, a very rich ser-apah or vest, two great silver and gilt trumpets, two silver timbals a poignard covered with jewels, and the value of about twenty thousand francs in gold and silver rupees, to let their king see money coined, as a rarity he had not in his country, but Aurang-Zebe knew very well that these rupees would not go out of the kingdom, and that they were like to buy commodities for them, and it fell out so ; for they laid them out, partly in fine cotton cloth, to make shirts of for their king, queen, and their only lawful son that is to be the successor ; partly in silken stuffs streaked with gold or silver, to make vests and summer drawers of ; partly in English scarlet, to make two Arabian vests of for their king also ; and lastly, in spices, and in store of coarser cloth for divers ladies of his seraglio, and for the children he had by them ; all without paying any duty.

For all my friendship with Murat, there were three things which made me almost repent to have served them. The first, because Murat having promised me to leave with me for 50 rupees, a little son of his, that was very pretty, of a delicate black, and without such a swelled nose, or such thick lips as commonly the Ethiopians have, broke his word with me, and let me know, that he should take no less for him than 300 rupees. For all this, I had thoughts of buying him for rarity's sake, and that I might say, a father had sold me his son. The second, because I found that Murat, as well as the Mahomedan had obliged themselves to Aurang-Zebe, that they would employ their interest without their king that he might permit in Ethiopia to rebuild an old mosque ruined in the time of the Portugueze, and which had been built for a tomb of a great dervich, which went from Mecca into Ethiopia for the propagation of Mahomedanism, and there made great progress. They received of Aureng-Zebe two thousand rupees for this engagement. This mosque had been pulled down by the Portugueze, when they came with their successors into Ethiopia, which the then king, who turned catholick, had asked of them against a Mahomedan Prince, invading his kingdom. The third because they desired Aurang-Zebe, in the name of their king, to give them an alcoran, and eight other books, which I well remember were of the most reputed in the Mahomedan religion: which proceeding seemed to me very unworthy of a Christian ambassadar, and Christian king, and confirmed to me what I had been told at Moka, that the christianity of Ethiopia must needs be some odd thing; that it favours much of Mahometanism, and that the Mahomedans increase exceedingly in that empire, especially since the Portugueze that came in there for the reason lately expressed, were either killed, upon the death of the king, by the cabal of the queen mother, or expelled, together with the patriarch Jesuit whom they had brought along from Goa.

During the time that the ambassadors were at Delhi, my Aga, who is more than ordinary curious, made them often come to him, when I was present, to inform himself of the state and government of their country, and principally to learn something of the source of the Nile, which they call Ababile, of which they discoursed to us as a thing so well known, that nobody doubt of it. Murat himself, and a Mogul, who was returned out of Ethiopia with him, had been there, and told us very near the same particulars with those I had received of it at Moka, viz. : that the Nile had its origin in the country of Agaus ; that it issued out of the earth by two springs bubbling up, near to one another, which did form a little lake of about thirty or forty paces long ; that coming out of this like, it did make a considerable river : and that from space to space it received small rivers increasing it. They added, that it went on circling, and making as it were a great isle ; and that afterwards it tumbled down from steep rocks into a great lake, in which there were divers fruitful isles, store of crocodiles, and (which would be remarkable enough, if true, abundance of sea calves, that have no other vent for their excrements than that by which they take in their food : this lake being in the country of Dambea, three small days journey from Gondar, and four or five days journey from the source of the Nile. And lastly, that this river did break out of this lake, being augmented with many river-waters, and with several torrents falling into it, especially in the rainy season (which do regularly being there, as in the Indies, about July, which is very considerable and convincing for the innudation of the Nile), and so runs away through Sonnar, the capital city of the King of Fungi, tributary to the King of Ethiopia, and from thence passeth to the plains of Mesre, which is Egypt.

The ambassadors were not wanting to say more than was liked, on this subject of their king's greatness, and of the strength of his army : but the Mogolian did not over much

agree with them in it ; and in their absence represented to us this army, which he had seen twice in the field, with the Ethiopian king at the head of it, as the most wretched thing in the world.

They also related to us divers particulars of that country, which I have put in my journal, one day perhaps to be digested and copied. In the mean time I shall insert here three or four things which Murat told me, because I esteem them very extravagant for a Christian kingdom. He said them, that there were few men in Ethiopia, who besides their lawful wives, had not many others ; and himself owned that he had two, without reckoning her which he had left at Aleppo : that the Ethiopian women did not so hide themselves as they do in the Indies among the Mahomedans nor even as among the Gentiles : that those of the meaner sort of people, maids or married woman, slaves or free, were often together pell-mell, night and day, in the same chamber without those jealousies so common in other countries : that the women of lords did not stick much to go into the house of a simple cavalier, whom they knew to be a man of execution. That if I had gone into Ethiopia, they would soon have obliged me to marry, as they had done, a few years since, a certain European who named himself a Greek physician. That an ancient man, of about fourscore years of age, did one day present to the king fourscore sons, of all age, and able to bear arms ; and that the king asked him, Whether he had no more but them ? To whom having answered, no but only some daughters, the king sent him away with his reproach : " Begone, thou calf, and be ashamed for having no more children at that age, as if women were wanting in my dominions !" That the king himself had at least fourscore sons and daughters running about pell-mell in the seraglio, for whom he had caused to be made a number of round varnished sticks, made like a little maze ; those children being fond of having that in their hand like a scepter,

distinguishing them from those that were children of slaves, or from others living in that place.

Aurang-Zebe sent also twice for these ambassadors, for the same reason that my Aga did, and especially to enquire after the state of Mahomedanism in that country. He had also the curiosity of viewing the skin of the mule, which remained, I know not how, in the fortress among the officers, which was to me a great mortification, because they had designed it for me for the good services I had done them, I made account to have one day presented it to some very curious person in Europe. I urged often, that together with the mule's skin, they should carry the great horn to Aurang-Zebe, to show it him; but they feared, lest he should make a question, which would have perplexed them, viz., how it came to pass that they had saved the horn from the plunder of Surat, and lost the civet?

Whilst these ambassadors of Ethiopia were at Delhi, it came to pass that Aurang-Zebe called together his privy-council, and the most learned persons of his court, to choose a new master for his third son, Sultan Akbar, whom he designed for his successor. In this council he shewed the passion he hath to have this young prince well educated, and to make him a great man. Aurang-Zebe is not ignorant of what importance it is, and how much it is to be wished, that as much as kings surmount others in greatness, they may also exceed them in virtue and knowledge. He also well knows, that one of the principal sources of the misery, of the mis-government, of the unpeopling and the decay of the empire of Asia proceeds from thence, that the children of the kings thereof are brought up only by women and eunuchs, which often are no other than wretched slaves of Russia, Carcassia, Mingrelia, Gurgisthan and Ethiopia; mean and servile, ignorant and insolent souls. These princes become kings when they are of age, without being instructed and without knowing what is to be a king; amazed when

they begin to come abroad out of the Seraglio, as if coming out of another world, or let out of some subterraneous cave, where they had been hid all their life time; wondering 'at every thing they meet like so many apes seeing all and fearing all like children, or nothing at all, as if they knew all this according to their nature, and suitable to the first in being so uncommonly high and proud, and seemingly grave but really fickle in their bearing which is so flat and distasteful, and so unbecoming them, in their whole life there is nothing but brutality or barbarousness, and the effect of so many civil ill-digested documents, or else they fall into some childish civilities, yet not without courseness or into such cruelties as are blind and brutal; or into that mean and greatness of drunkenness, or into an excessive and altogether unreasonable luxury, either binding their bodies and understanding with their concubines or altogether abandoning themselves to the pleasures of hunting like some carnivorous animals, preferring a pack of dogs before the lives of so many poor people, whom they force to follow them in the pursuit of their game, and suffer to perish of hunger, heat, cold and misery. In a word, they always run into some extreme or other, being altogether irrational and extravagant, according as they are carried by their natural temper or by their first impressions that are given them; thus remaining, almost all, in a strange ignorance of what concerns the state of the kingdom; the reins of the government being abandoned to some visir, who entertains them in their ignorance and in their passions, which are the two strongest supports he can have to rule always according to his own mind, with most assurance, and the least contradiction; and given over also to those slaves their mothers, and to their eunuchs, who often know nothing but to continue plots of cruelty, whereby they strangle and banish one another, and sometimes the visiers, and even the grand seignors themselves, so that no man whatsoever, that hath any estate, can be in safety of his life.

But to return; after all these ambassadors which we have spoken of, there come at last news, that the Ambassador of Persia, was upon the frontiers. The Persian Omrahs, that are at the service of the Mogul spread a rumour that he came for affairs of great importance, though intelligent persons much doubted of a commission of that nature, considering that the time of great conjunctures was passed and that those Omrahs, and the other Persians did what they did rather to make a show than for any thing else. Meantime, on the day of the entry, this ambassador was received with all possible respect. The bazars, through which he passed, were all new painted, and the cavalry attending on the way for above the length of a whole league. Many Omrahs accompanied him with music, timbals and trumpets and when he entered in the fortress, or palace of the king, the guns went off. Aurang-Zebe received him with much civility, and was content that he should make his address to him after the Persian mode, receiving also without any scruple, immediately from his hands the letters of his king, which, out of respect, he lifted up even to his head and afterwards read them with a grave and serious countenance; which done, he caused an embroidered vest to be brought in, which consisted of twenty-five as handsome horses as ever I saw, led, and covered with embroidered trappings, and of twenty very stately and lusty camels, as big as elephants; moreover, of a good number of boxes, said to be full of most excellent rose-water, and of a certain distilled water, very precious, and esteemed highly cordial; besides, there were displayed five or six very rich and very large tapisseries, and some embroidered pieces exceeding noble, wrought in small flowers, so fine and delicate, that I know not whether in all Europe any such can be met with. To all this were added four damaskined swords, with as many poignards covered with jewels; as also five or six harnesses of horses, which were covered with trappings also



very fine and rich, the stuff being and raised with rich embroidered flowers and very fair turcoises of the old rock.

It was observed, that the ambassador observed this present very attentively, that he admired the beauty and that several times he extolled the generosity of the King of Persia and gave the ambassador a place among his chief Omrahs. And after he had held a discourse about the inconveniences and hardships of his voyage, he had made instance, that he should come every day to see him.

During the four or five months the ambassador staid at Dehli, he was always splendidly treated by Aureng-Zebe and the court at large; and the greatest Omrahs presented him one after another, and at last he was very honourably dismissed; for Aureng-Zebe had him apparelled with another rich serapah and vest, to which he added considerable presents for himself, reserving those he intended for his king, till he should send an ambassador expressly, which some time after he did.

Notwithstanding all these testimonies of honour and respect which Aureng-Zebe had shewed to his ambassador, the same Persians, above spoken of, gave out, that their king had sensibly reproached him in his letters with the death of Dara, and the imprisonment of Shah-Jehan, as actions unworthy of a brother and a son, and a Mussulman; and that he had also hit him with the word Alem-Guire, or conqueror of the world, which Aureng-Zebe had caused to be engraven on his coin. But it is hard to believe, that the King of Persia should do any such thing to provoke such a victorious prince, since Persia is not in a condition to enter into a war with Hindustan; I am rather apt to believe, that Persia hath work enough to keep Kandahar on the side of Hindustan and the frontiers on the side of Turkey. Its forces and riches are known; it produceth not always such great kings as the Shah-Abbah, valiant, intelligent, and politic, knowing to make use of every thing, and

to do much with small expences. If it were in a condition of undertaking any thing against Hindustan, or really sensible of piety, and the Mussulman faith, why was it that in this last troubles and civil wars, which continued so long in Hindustan, the Persians sat still and looked on when Dara, Shah-Jehan, Sultan Sujah, and perhaps the Government of Kabul desired their assistance; and they might, with no very great army, nor great expences, have seized on the fairest part of India beginning from the kingdom of Kabul, unto the river Indus, and beyond it, and so made themselves umpires of all things? Yet notwithstanding their must needs have been some offensive expressions in those Persian letters or else the ambassador must have done or said something that displeased Aurang-Zebe, because two or three days after he had dismissed him, he made a rumour to be spread abroad, that the ambassador had caused the head-strings of the presented horses to be cut; and the ambassador being yet upon the frontiers, he made him return all the Indian slaves which he carried along with him, of which he had a prodigious number.

Meanwhile Aurang-Zebe was not so much concerned, nor troubled himself so much with his ambassador, as Shah-Jehan, upon a like occasion, did with him that was sent to him from the great Shah-Abas. When the Persians are in the humour of rallying against the Indians, they relate these three or four little stories of them; they say, that Shah-Jehan, seeing that the courtship and promises made to their ambassador were not able to prevail with him, so as to make him perform his salute after the Indian mode, he devised this artifice:—he commanded to shut the great gate of the court of the Amkas, where he was to receive them, and to leave only open the wicket, through which one man could not pass but very difficultly, by stooping and holding down his head, as the fashion is when one maketh an Indian reverence, to the end that it might be said he had made

The ambassador put himself in a posture which was something lower than the Indian salam or salute; but that that ambassador, being aware of this trick, came in with his back foremost: and that Shah-Jehan, out of indignation to see him caught, told him Eh badbakt, 'Thou wretch, dost thou think thou comest into a stable of asses, such as thou art?' And that the ambassador, without any alteration, answered, 'Who would not think so, seeing such a little door?'

Another story is this: that at a certain time Shah-Jehan taking ill some coarse and fierce answers returned to him by the Persian ambassador, could not hold to tell him, What, hath Shah-Abbas no other men at his court that he must send to me such a fool as thyself? And that the ambassador answered He hath many better and wiser men than me, but to such a king, such an ambassador. They add that on a certain day Shah-Jehan, who had made the ambassador to dine in his presence, and sought some occasion to affront him, seeing that he was busy in picking and gnawing of bones, asked him smilingly, 'Eh Eltchi-Gy, my Lord Ambassador, what will the dogs eat?' And that he answered readily, Kicherri, that is a dish of pulse, which is the food of the meaner sort of the people, and which he saw Shah-Jehan eat, because he loved it.

They say also that Shah-Jehan once asked him, what he thought of his new Delhi (which was building), in comparison of Hispahan? And that he answered aloud, and with an oath, 'Billah, Billah, Hispahan doth not come near the dust of Delhi, which Shae-Jehan took for a high commendation, though the ambassador mocked him, because the dust is so troublesome at Delhi.

Lastly they relate that Shah-Jehan, one day pressing him to tell him, what he thought of the grandeur of the king of Hindusthan, compared to that of the kings of Persia? He answered, that in his opinion, one could not better compare the kings of India than to a large moon of fifteen or sixteen

days old; and those of Persia, to a small moon of two or three days. And that this answer did at first please Shah-Jehan; but that soon after he perceived, that that comparison did him but little honour, the ambassador's sense being, that the kings of Hindusthan were decreasing, and those of Persia increasing.

Whether these points are so commendable, and such marks of wit, every one is free to Judge as he seeth cause. My opinion is, that a different and respectful gravity is much more becoming ambassadors, than raillery and roughness, especially when they have to do with kings, who will not be rallied with, witness an accident that befel this very ambassador; for Shah-Jehan was at length so weary of him, and his freedom, that he called him no otherwise than fool; and one day gave secret order that when he should enter into a pretty long and narrow street, that is near the fortress, to come to the hall of the assembly, they should let loose upon him an ill-conditioned and fierce elephant; and certainly if the ambassador had not nimbly leapt out of his palkey, and, together with his dexterous attendants, shot some arrows into the trunk of the elephant, which forced him to turn back, he had been utterly spoiled.

It was at this time, upon the departure of the Persian ambassador, that Aurang-Zebe received with that admirable wisdom his tutor Mallah-Sale, the history of which is rare and considerable. This old man, who long since had retired himself towards Kabul, and settled himself on some lands which Shah-Jehan had given him, had no sooner heard of the great fortune of Aurang-Zebe his disciple, who had overcome Dara and all his other brothers, and was now King of Hindusthan, but he came in haste to the court, swelled with hopes of being presently advanced to no less than the dignity of an Omrah. He maketh his court, and endeavours to engage all his friends, and Rauchenara-Begum, the King's sister employs herself for him. But yet there was three

whole months, that Aurang-Zebe does not so much as look upon him ; till at length, wearied to have him always at his elbow, and before his face, he sent for him to a place apart, where there was nobody but Hakim-ul-Mouluk, Danechmend-Khan, and three or four of those Omrahs, that pretend to science, and then spoke to him to this effect, (as I was informed by my Agah) :

What is it you would have of me doctor ? Can you reasonably desire I should make you one of the chief Omrahs of my court ? Let me tell you, if you had instructed me as you should have done, nothing should be more just : for I am of this persuasion, that a child well educated and instructed is as much, at least, obliged to his master as to his father : but where are those good documents you have given me ? In the first place you have taught me, that all that Frangastican (so it seems they call Europe was nothing, but I know not what little island, of which the greatest King was he of Portugal, and next to him he of Holland, and after him he of England ; and as to the other kings, as those of France and Andalusia, you have represented them to me as our petty Rajas ; telling me that the Kings of Hindusthan were far above them altogether, and that they were the true and only Houmajons, the Akbars, the Jehan-Guyres, the Shah-Jehans, the fortunate ones, the conquerors and kings of the world ; and that Persia and usbec, Kash-ghar, Tartar and Catay, Pegu, China, and Matchina did tremble at the name of the Kings of Hindusthan. Admirable geography ! You should rather have taught me exactly to distinguish all those different states of the world and well to understand their strength,, their way of fighting, their customs, religions, governments, and interests : and by the perusal of solid history, to observe their rise, progress, decay, and whence, how, and by what accidents and errors those great changes and revolutions of empires and kingdoms have happened. I have scarce learnt of you the name

of my grandsires, the famous founders of this empire ; so far were you from having taught me the history of their life, and what course they took to make such great conquests. You had a mind to teach me the Arabian tongue, to read and to write, I am much obliged to you (forsooth) for having made me lose so much time upon a language, that requires ten or twelve years to attain to its perfection ; as if the son of a king should think it to be an honour to him, to be a grammarian or some doctor of the law, and to learn other languages than those of his neighbours, when he cannot well be without them ; he, to whom time is so precious for so many weighty things, which he ought by times to learn. As if there were any spirit that did not with some reluctance, and even with a kind of debasement, employ itself in so sad and dry an exercise, so longsome and tedious, as is that of learning words.

Thus did Aurang-Zebe resent the pedantic instructions of his tutor : to which it is affirmed in that court, that after some entertainment which he had with others, he further added the following reproof.

“Know you not, that childhood well governed, being a state which is ordinarily accompanied with an happy memory is capable of thousands of good precepts and instructions, which remain deeply impressed the whole remainder of a man's life, and keep the mind always raised for great actions ? The law, prayers, and sciences, may they not as well be learned in our mother-tongue, as in Arabic ? You told my father Shah-Jehan that you would teach me philosophy. It is true, I remember very well, that you have entertained me for many years with airy questions, of things that afford no satisfaction at all to the mind, and are of no use to human society, empty notions, and mere fancies, that have only this in them, that they are very hard to understand, and very easy to forget, which are only capable to

tire and spoil a good understanding, and to breed an opinion, that is unsupportable. I still remember that after you had thus amused me, I know not how long, with your fine philosophy, all I retained of it, was a multitude of barbarous and dark words, proper to bewilder, perplex, and tire out the best wits, and only invented, the better to cover the vanity and ignorance of men like yourself, that would make us believe, that they know all, and that under those obscure and ambiguous words, are hid great mysteries, which they alone are capable to understand. If you had seasoned me with that philosophy which formeth the mind to ratiocination, and insensibly accustomed it to be satisfy with nothing but solid reasons; if you had given me those excellent precepts and principles which raise the soul above the assaults of fortune, and reduce her to an unshaken and always equal temper, and permit her not to be lifted up by prosperity, nor debased by adversity; if you had taken care to give me the knowledge of what we are, and what are the first principles of things, and had assisted me in forming in my mind a fit idea of the greatness of the universe, and of the admirable order and motion of the parts thereof; if, I say, you had instilled into me this kind of philosophy, I should think myself incomparably more obliged, to you than Alexander was to his Aristotle; and believe it my duty to recompence you otherwise, than he did him. Should not you, instead of your flattery, had taught me somewhat of that point so important to a king, which is, what the reciprocal duties are of a sovereign to his subjects, and those of subjects to their sovereign? And ought not you to have considered, that one day I should be obliged with the sword, to dispute my life and the crown with my brothers? Is not that the destiny almost of all the sons of Hindusthan? Have you ever taken any care to make me learn what it is to besiege a town, or to set an army in array? For these things I am obliged to others, not at all to you. Go, and retire to the village,

whence you are come, and let nobody know who are you, or what is become of you.

At that time there arose a kind of tempest against astrologers, which did not displease me. Most people of Asia are so insatuated by judiciary astrology, that they believe there is nothing done here below, but it is written above (for so they speak). In all their undertakings therefore they consult astrologers. When two armies are ready to give battle, they beware of falling on, till the astrologer hath taken and determined the moment he fancies propitious for the beginning of the combat. And so when the matter is about ejecting a captain-general of an army, of dispatching an ambassador, of concluding a marriage, or beginning a voyage, and of doing any other thing, as buying a slave, putting on new apparel, etc., nothing of all that is done without the sentence of Mr. Star-gazer; which is an incredible vexation, and a custom drawing after it such important consequences, that I know not how it can subsist so long. For the astrologer must needs have knowledge of all that passeth and of all that is undertaken, from the greatest affairs to the least.

But behold, it happened, that the prime astrologer of the King was drowned, which occasioned a great noise at court, and was a discredit to astrology: for he being the person that determined the moments of all enterprizes and actions for the King, and the Omrahs, every one wondered, how a man so experienced, and that for so long time had dispensed good adventures to others, could not foresee his own misfortune. There were not wanting those, who pretended to be wiser than others, and said, that in Frangistan, where sciences did nourish, the grandees do suspect all such kind of people, and that some hold them even no better than mount-banks, that it is much doubted, whether this knowledge is grounded upon good and solid reasons, and that it may very well be some fancy of astrologers, or rather an artifice to



make themselves necessary to the great ones, and to make them in some measure to depend on them.

All these discourses very much displeased the astrologers; but nothing angried them so much as this story, become very famous, viz. That the great Shah-Abas, King of Persia, commanded to be digged and prepared a little place in his seraglio, to make a garden; that the young trees were all ready, and the gardener made account to plant them the next day, Meantime the astrologer taking upon him, said, that a good nick of time was to be observed for plenty of them, to make them prosper. Shah-Abas being content it should be so, the star-gazer had took his instruments, turned over his books, made his calculation, and concluded, that the son of such and such a conjunction and aspect of the planets, it was necessary they should be set presently. The master gardener, who minded nothing less than this astrologer; was not then at hand; yet for all that they fell to work immediately, making holes, and planting the trees Shah-Abas himself setting them, that it might be said that they were trees set with Shah-Abas's own hands. The gardener returning at night, was sufficiently amazed when he saw the work done; and finding that the right place and or plan lesigned by him was not taken; that, for example an apricock tree stood where an apple-tree should stand, and a pear tree where an almond tree; being heartily angry with the astrologer, caused all the trees to be plucked up again, and laid them down, with some earth about them, for next morning, the time chosen by himself. The news here of came soon to the ears of the astrologer, who presently told Shah-Abas of it: he forthwith sent for the gardener, and with some indignation asked him, What had made him so bold as to pull up those young trees he had planted with his own hand; that the time had been so exactly taken for them, that so good an one would never be had again, and that so he had marred all. The rude gardener, who had a

cup of Chiras wine in his head, looked aside upon the astrologer, and grumbling and swearing, said to him these words, Billah, Billah, that must needs be an admirable point of time which thou hast taken for these trees; unhappy astrologer! they were planted this day noon, and this evening they have been plucked up again. When Shah-Abbas heard this, he fell alauling, turned his back upon the astrologer, and went away.

I shall here add two particulars, though they happened in the time of Shah-Jehan, because such things fall out often enough, and do withal give occasion to observe that ancient and barbarous custom, which makes the kings of India heirs of the goods of those that die in their service. The first was of Neiknam-khan, one of the most ancient Omrahs of the court, any who for the space of forty or fifty years, wherein he had always been employed in considerable offices, had heaped up great store of gold and silver. This lord seeing himself near his end, and thinking upon the unreasonable custom, which often renders the wife of a great man, upon his decease, poor and miserable in an instant, and necessitates her to present a petition, begging some small pensions for her subsistence and for that of her children, who are constrained to list themselves for common soldiers under some Omrah; who, I say, considering this with himself, secretly distributed all his treasure to indigent knights and poor widows, filled his trunks with old pieces of iron, old shoes, rags and bones, and locked and sealed them, telling every body that they were goods belonging to Shah-Jehan, the King. These trunks, after his death were brought before Shah-Jehan, when he was in the assembly, and by his command instantly opened in the presenee of all the Omrahs that saw all this fine stuff, which so provoked and discomposed Shah-Jehan; that he rose in great fury, and went away.

The other is only a piece of gallantry. A rich Banean

or heathen merchant being a great usurer (as most of them are), who had always been in employment and in the pay of the King, came to die. Some years after his death, his son did extremely importune the widow, his mother to let him have some money : she seeing him to be a prodigal and debauched youth, gave him as little as she could. The young fool by the persuation of others like himself made his complaints to Shah-Jehan, and was so silly as to discover to him all the goods his father had left, which amounted to two hundred thousand rupees, or hundred thousand crowns. Chah-Jehan, who soon got an itch for this treasure, sent for the widow, and commanded her in the open assembly to send him an hundred thousand rupees, and to give many thousand to her son, giving order at the same time to put her away. The old woman though surprised at this command and perplexed enough that she was so suddenly turned out, without the liberty of speaking, yet lost not her judgment but with loud cries gave out that she had something of moment to discover to His Majesty : When after being brought in again, she said, "God save Your Majesty ; I find that my son have some reason to demand of me the goods of his father, as being of his and my flesh and blood, and therefore our heir ; but I would gladly know, what kindred Your Majesty is to my deceased husband, to be his heir. When Shah-Jehan heard so plain a piece of raillery, and a discourse of parentage of the King of the Indies with a she-Banian, or idolatrous she-merchant, he could not hold laughing and commanded she should be gone, and that nothing should be asked of her.

But to return, I shall not relate all the other considerable things that had happened since the end of the war, that is since 1660, unto my departure, which was above six years after ; though doubtless that would tend much to the design I had in relating the other particulars, which is, to make shown the genius and temper of the Moguls and Indians.

this I may do in another place : here I shall only give an account of five or six particulars, which those that shall have read this relation, will doubtless be curious of:

The first, that though Aurang-Zebe made Shah-Jehan, his father, to be kept in the fortress of Agra, with all imaginable care and caution ; yet notwithstanding he still left him his old apartment with Begum-Saheb, his eldest daughter, his other women, singers, dancers, cooks and others ; nothing of that kind was wanting to him. There were also certain Mullahs, that were permitted to come and to read the alcoron to him, (for he was become very devout.) And when he thought fit, there were brought before him brave horses, and tamed Gazelles, (which is a kind of goat) to make them fight with one another ; as also divers sorts of birds of pray, and several other rare animals, to divert him as formerly. Aurang-Zebe himself used an art to overcome at last his fierceness and obstinacy, which he had hitherto kept, though a prisoner. And this was the effect of the obliging letters, full of respect and submission which he often wrote to his father, consulting him often as his oracle, and expressing a thousand cares for him ; sending him also incessantly some pretty presents or other ; whereby Shah-Jehan was so much ; gained, that he also wrote very often to Aurang-Zebe to touch of the government and state affairs, and of his own accord sent him some of those jewels, which before he had told him of, that hammers were ready to beat them to powder the first time he should again ask for them. Besides, he consented that the daughter of Dara, which he had so peremptorily denied, should be delivered to him ; and granted him at length that pardon and paternal blessing, which he had so often desired without obtaining it. Yet, under all this, Aurang-Zebe did not always flatter him ; on the contrary, he sometimes returned sharp answers, when he met with strains in his father's letters that were pregnant, or expressed something of his former height and authority.

Of this we may judge by the letter, which I know from a very good hand was once written to him by Aurang-Zebe, to this effect :

"Sir, You should have me indispensably follow those ancient customs, and make myself act and those that are in my pay with the wonted rigour : an Omrah, and even [a munsabdar no sooner die and sometimes even before his death, but we seal up his trunks, and seize on his goods, and make a strict enquiry into his estate, imprisoning and ill-treating the officers of the house to discover to us all he hath, even to the least jewels. I will believe that there is some policy in doing so, but it can not be denied that it is very rigorous and sometimes very unjust ; and to speak the very truth, we may deserve well enough, that the same should befall us every day, what happened to you from your Neikman-khan, and from the widow of your rich Indian merchant. Moreover, (said he) it seems, I am uncommonly reputed proud and haughty now I am King ; as if you knew not by the experience and more than forty years of your reign, how heavy an ornament a crown is, and how anxious and restless nights it passeth through ; as if I could forget that excellent anecdote of Mir Timur (commonly called Tamerlane) which is so seriously delivered to us by that great grand-father of ours, Akbar, to the end that we might the more weigh the importance, and value of it, and consider whether we have cause to pride ourselves so much in a crown. You well know that he said, that the same day when Timur took Bagazet, he made him come him before him, and having fixed his eyes on him, fell alaugthing ; at which Bajazet being highly offended, fiercely said to him, Laugh not at my fortune, Timur, I know that it is God that is the dispenser of kingdoms and empires ; and that the same can befall you to-morrow, that hath befallen me to-day. Whereupon Timur made this serious and brave answer ; I know as well as you Bajazet, that it is God that distributeth kingdoms and em-

pires ; I laugh not at your ill fortune, God forbid I should do so : but beholding your face, I smiled, and had this thought, That certainly these kingdoms and empires must in themselves be very little and contemptible things in the eyes of God, since he giveth them to persons so ill made as you and I both are ; a deformed one eyed man as you ; and a lame wretch as myself You require also, that abandoning all my other employments, which I believe very necessary for the establishment and happiness of this state, I should think on nothing but conquests, and the enlargement of the empire. I must confess that this is indeed the business of a great monarch, and of a soul truly royal, and that I should not deserve to be of the blood of the great Timur, if I were not of that mind, and had not such inclinations. Meantime I think I sit not idle, and my armies are not useless in the kingdom of Decan and Bengal : but we must also aver, that the greatest conquerors are not always the greatest kings ; that we too often see a barbarian making conquests, and that those great bodies of conquests do ordinarily fall of themselves, and by their own weight. He is a great king, that knows to acquire himself worthily of that great and august employment and charge of kings, which is to dispense justice to their subjects, etc.”

The rest is not come to my hands.

The second is in regard of Amir-Jemla. It were to injure this great man to pass by with silence his department to Aurang-Zebe after the war, and the manner of ending his days. This eminent person, after he had dispatched the affair of Bengala, with Sultan Sujah (the second of these four brothers), not like Gion-Khan, that infamous Pathan with Dara, nor like the Raja of Seranaguer with Soliman Chekouh, but like a great captain and dexterous politician pursuing him as far as the sea-side, and necessitating him to fly and to escape out of his hands ; after, I say, he had done these things, he sent an eunuch to Aurang-Zebe, entreating

him, that he would give him leave to transport his family to Bengal; that now that the war was at an end, and he broken with age, he hoped he would grant him the advantage of ending his life in the company of his wife and children.

But Aurang-Zebe is too sharp-figured, not to pierce into the designs of Amir. He seeth him triumphing over Sujah; he knows his great credit and reputation, and that he hath the esteem of a very wise, undertaking, valiant and rich man; and that the kingdom of Bengal is not only the best of all Hindusthan, but strong of itself; and further, that this Amir is in the head of a well disciplined army which both honours and fears him. Besides, he is not ignorant of his ambition, and foreseeth well enough, that if he should have with him his son Mahmet-Amir-knan, he would aspire to the crown, and at least take full possession of Bengal, if he would not be able to advance things further. At the same time he is also well aware that there is danger in refusing him, and that he may possibly prove such a man, as, in case of denial, may run into some dangerous extreme, as he had done in Golconda. How then, think ye, did he carry himself in this conjuncture? He sends to him his wife and daughter, and all the children of his son; he maketh the Mir a Mir-ul-Omrah, which is in that empire the greatest degree of honour that a man can be raised to; and as to Mahmet-Amir-Khan, he maketh him the Great Mogul which is a dignity and charge like that of our great master of the horse, the second or third office in the state, but such a one as absolutely obligeth the possessor of it to be always at the court, not suffering him, but very difficultly, to be absent from the person of the King.

The Amir soon perceived, that Aurang-Zebe had skilfully put by the stroke; that it would be in vain the second time to ask of him his son; that he could not do it without offending him; and that therefore the safest way would be to rest

contented with all the testimonies of friendship, and with all the honours, together with the government of Bengal ; being in the mean time always upon his guard, and in such a posture, that since he could attempt nothing against Aurang-Zebe, Aurang-Zebe should not be able to attempt any thing against him.

Thus have we seen these two great men carrying themselves to one another ; and in this condition did affairs remain for almost a year, till Aurang-Zebe, too well knowing that a great captain cannot be long at rest ; and that, if he be not employed in a foreign war, he will at length raise a domestic one ; proposed to him to make war upon that rich and potent Raja of Assam, whose territories are on the north of Dacca, upon the gulf of Bengal. The Amir, who in all appearance had already designed this same thing of himself, and who believed, that the conquest of this country would make way for his immortal honour, and be an occasion of carrying his arms as far as China, declared himself ready for this enterprize. He embarked at Dacca with a puissant army, upon a river which comes from those parts ; upon which having gone about an hundred leagues north-eastward, he arrived at a castle called Azo, which the Raja of Assam had usurped from the kingdom of Bengal, and possessed for many years. He attacked this place and took it by force in less than fifteen days : thence marching over land towards Chamdara, which is the inlet into the country of that Raja ; he entered into it after twenty-six days journey, still northward : there a battle was fought, in which the Raja of Assam was worsted, and obliged to retreat to Guergeon, the metropolis of his kingdom, four miles distant from Chamdara. The Amir pursued him so close, that he gave him no time to fortify himself in Guerguon ; for he arrived in sight of that town in five days, which constrained the Raja : seeing the Amir's army, to fly towards the mountains of the kingdom of Lassa, and to abandon Guerguon,



which was pillaged, as had been Chamdara. They found there vast riches, it being a great, very fair and mercantile town, and where the women are extraordinarily beautiful. Meantime the season of the rains came in sooner than usually; and they being excessive in those parts, and overflowing all the country, except such villages as stand on raised ground, the Amir was much embarrassed. For the Raja made his people of the mountains come down from all parts thereabout, and to carry away all the provisions of the field; whereby the Amir's army (as rich as it was) before the end of the rains, fell into great straits, without being able to go forward or backward. It could not advance, by reason of the mountains, very difficult to pass, and continually pestered with great rains; nor retreat because of the like rains and deep ways; the Raja also having caused the way to be digged up as far as to Chamdara: so that the Amir was forced to remain in that wretched condition during the whole time of the rain; after which, when he had his army distasted, tired out, and half starved, he was necessitated to give over the design he had of advancing, and to return the same way he was come. But this retreat was made with so much pains, and so great inconveniences, by reason of the dirt, the want of victuals, and the pursuit of the Raja falling in the rear, that every body (but he) that had been his own knew not how to remedy the disorder of such a march, nor had the patience to be leading for five or six hours at one passage to make the soldiery get over it without confusion. [He would have utterly perished, himself, army and all; yet he notwithstanding all these difficulties and obstacles, made a shift to come back with great honour and vast riches. He designed to return thither again the next year, and to to pursue his undertaking, supposing that Azo, which he had fortified, and where he left a strong garrison, would be able to hold out the rest of the year against the Raja. But he was no sooner arrived there, but fluxes began to rage

in his army : neither had himself a body of steel more than the rest ; he fell sick and died, whereby fortune ended the just apprehensions ; for there was none of those that knew this great man, and the state of the affairs of Hindusthan, who did not say, It is this day that Aurang-Zebe is King of Bengal. And himself could not forbear to express some such thing ; for he publicly said to Mahmet-Amir-khan, You have lost your father, and I the greatest and most dangerous friend I had ; yet notwithstanding he comforted his son, and withal assured him, that he would ever be a father to him. And whereas it was thought that he would at least cut off his salary, and make inquisition into his treasury, he confirmed him in his office of Bakchis, augmented his pension to a thousand rupees a month, and left him heir of all the estate of his father, although the custom of the country empowered him to seize on all.

The third is concerning Shah-hest-khan, whom Aurang-Zebe made first governor of Agra, when he went out to the battle of Kadjoue against Sultan Sujah ; and afterward, governor and general of the army in Decan ; and at last after the death of Amir-Jemla, governor and general of the army in Bengal, together with the charge of Mir-ul-Omrah, which Amir-Jemla had possessed. This Shah-hest-khan is he, whom in our history we have mentioned as uncle to Aurang-Zebe, and one that hath so much contributed to his happiness by his eloquent and skilful pen, as well as by his intrigues and counsels. It would be injurious to his renown also, to be silent of the important enterprize which he undertook presently when he entered upon his government ; and that the rather, because Amir-Jemla, whether out of policy, or for another cause, had no mind to tempt him ; as also, because the particularities, which I am going to relate, will shew not only the past and present state of the kingdoms of Bengal and Rakan, which hitherto hath not been

well described to us by any ; but also some other things that are worth nothing.

To the end therefore that the importance of Shah-hest-khan's attempt may be well understood, and a good idea be had of what passeth about the gulf of Bengal ; we are to know, that these many years there have always been in the kingdom of Rakan or Moy, some Portugueze, and with them a great number of their Christian slaves, and other Franguis, gathered from all parts. That there was refuge of the run-aways from Goa, Ceilan, Kochin, Malague, and those other places which the Portugueze formerly held in the Indies ; and they were such as had abandoned monasteries, men that had been twice or thrice married, murderous ; in a word, such as had deserved the rope, were most welcome and most esteemed there, leading in that country a life that was very detestable, and altogether unworthy of Christians, inso much that they impunely butchered and poisoned one another, and assassinated their own priests, who sometimes were not better than themselves. The king of Rakan, in the apprehension he hath ever had of the Mogul, kept them for a guard of his frontiers, in a port-town called Chategon, giving them land, and liberty to live as they pleased. Their ordinary trade was robbery and piracy. With some small and light gallies they did nothing but coast about that sea, and entering into all rivers thereabout, and all into the channels and arms of the Ganges, and between all those isles of the lower Bengal, and often penetrating even so far as forty or fifty leagues up into the country, surprized and carried away whole towns, assemblies, markets, feasts and weddings of the poor Gentlies, and others of that country, making woman slaves, great and small, with strange cruelty ; and burning all they could not carry away. And thence it is, that at present there are seen in the mouth of the Ganges so many fine isles quite deserted which were formerly well peopled, and where no

other inhabitants are found but wild beasts, and especially tigers.

This great number of slaves, which thus they took from all quarters, behold what use they made of. They had boldness and impudence enough, to come and sell to that very country the old people, which they know not what to do with; where it so fell out, that those who had escaped the danger by flight, and by hiding themselves in the woods, laboured to redeem to-day their fathers and mothers, that had been taken yesterday. The rest they kept for their service, to make rowers of them, and such Christians as they were themselves, bringing them up to robbing and killing; or else they sold them to the Portugueze of Goa, Ceilan, St. Thomas, and others; and even to those that were remaining in Bengal at Hughly, who were come thither to settle themselves there by the favour of Jehan-Guyre, the grandfather of Aurang-Zebe, who suffered them there upon the account of traffic, and of his having no aversion to Christians, as also because they promised him to keep the bay of Bengal clear from all pirates. And it was towards the isles of Galles, near the cape of Palmes, where this fine trade was. These pirates lay there in wait at the passage for the Portugueze, who filled their ships with them at a very easy rate; this infamous rabble impudently bragging, that they made more Christians in one year, than all the missionaries in the Indies in ten; which would be a strange way of enlarging Christianity.

These were the pirates that made Shah-Jenan, who was a more zealous Mahomedan than his father Jehan-Guyre, to express at last his passion, not only against the reverend fathers the Jesuits, missionaries of Agra, in that he caused to be pulled down the best part of a very fair and large church that had been built, as well as that of Lahore by the favour of Jehan-Guyre, who, as I said, did not hate Christianity; and upon which there stood a great steeple

with a great bell in it, whose sound might be heard all over the town ; not only, I say, against those Jesuits, but also against the Christians of Ogouli ; for being impatient to see them connive at the pirates to make the name of the Franguis formidable, and to fill their houses with slaves that were his own subjects, he wasted and utterly ruined them, after he had both with fair words and menaces drawn from them as much money as he could : and because they were indiscreetly obstinate in refusing what he demanded of them, he besieged them, and caused them all to be brought to Agra, even their very children, their priests and friars. This was a misery and desolation, not to be paralleled ; a kind of Babylonian transmigration. There they were all made slaves : the handsome women were shut up in the Seraglio ; the old women and others were distributed among divers Omrahs. The young lads were circumcised and made pages : and men of age renounced for the most part their faith, either terrified by the threatenings they heard daily, that they should be trampled upon by elephants, or drawn away by fair promises. It is true that there were some of those friars, who persisted and that their missionaries of Agra, who, notwithstanding all this unhappiness, remained in their houses, found means afterwards, partly by friends, partly by money, to get many of them away, and to have them conveyed to Goa, and to other places belonging to the Portuguese.

They were also the same pirates, who sometime after the desolation of Ogouli, offered to the viceroy of Goa to put the whole kingdom of Rakan into their hands for the King of Portugal ; but he refused, they say, this offer, out of arrogance and jealousy, and would not send the successors, which for that end was demanded of him by a certain Bastain Gonsalve, who had made himself head of those people, and was become so potent and considerable, that he married one of the King's daughter ; being unwilling that it should

be said that a man of so mean extraction as this Bastian was, had done such a master-piece. But it may be said on this occasion, that this is not much to be wondered at, considering that the Portuguese in the Indies by such a conduct have divers times been faulty on the like occasions, in Japan, in Pegu, in Ethiopia, and other places; not to mention, that by this way, and that perhaps by a just divine chastisement (as they all frankly confess themselves, they are become a prey to their enemies, and fallen so low in the Indies, that I know not whether they will ever recover there; whereas formerly before they were corrupted by vice and degenerated through pleasure, they made all others tremble in those parts; forasmuch as then they were brave and generous men, zealous for the Christian religion, considerable for gallant exploits and for riches; all the Indian kings seeking their friendship.

Besides this, the same pirates seized at that time on the isle of Sondiva, an advantageous post to command a part of the mouth of the Ganges: in which isle a certain Augustin friar, a very famous man, acted the king for many years, having taken a course, God knows how, to rid himself of the commander of that place.

Moreover the same robbers took Sultan Sujah at Dacca, to carry him away to their galeasses to Rakan, as we related above, and found means to his coffers, and to rob him of good store of jewels, which afterwards were secretly and at a very cheap rate sold at Rakan, most of them being fallen into the hands of people that had no skill of them, and afterwards into the hands of the Hollanders, and others who knew how to buy them up quickly, making those fellows believe that they were soft diamonds, and that they would pay them according to the degree of their hardness.

Lastly, they are; they that for many years have given exercise to the Great Mogul in Bengal; having obliged him there to keep always garrisons every where upon the

passes and a great militia, and a fleet also of galeasses to oppose their courses, and who, notwithstanding all this, have made shift to make strange devastations, and often to enter far into the country, and to laugh at all the soldiery of the Moguls; in regard they were become so bold, and so dexterous at their weapons, and so skilful in piloting their galeasses, that four or five of them stuck not to set upon fourteen or fifteen Mogolians, which they also actually worsted, and took, or run a-ground. And upon these pirates Shah-hest-khan cast his eyes as soon as he came into Bengal, taking a resolution to deliver the country of this plague of people, that had so long wasted it; and designing afterwards to pass on and attack the King of Rakan, according to the order of Aurang-Zebe, who at any price had a mind to revenge the blood of Sultan Sujah, and all his family, that had been so cruelly handled, and to teach that barbarian how the blood royal was to be regarded and esteemed of any occasion whatsoever. Behold now with what dexterity Shah-hest-khan carrieth this design.

Knowing that it is impossible to pass any cavalry by land, no not so much as any infantry, from Bengal into Rakan, because of the many channels and rivers upon the frontiers; and also that on the other side, the pirates of Chatigon, whom we just now were speaking of, would be powerful enough to hinder him from transporting them by sea; he thought upon this experiment, viz. to engage the Hollanders in his design. He therefore sent a kind of ambassador to Batavia, empowering him to treat upon certain conditions, with the general of that company, jointly to subdue the whole kingdom of Rakan, as formerly Shah Abbas subdued that of Ormus in conjunction with the English. The general of Batavia seeing the thing to be possible, and that it was a means more and more to break the Portuguese in the Indies, and that it would turn to a very good account to the company, dispatched away two men of war

for Bengal, to favour the transportation of the Mogolian troops in spite of those pirates. But observe what Shah-hest-khan did before these men of war arrived : he equipped a great number of galeasses, and many large vessels to transport the army ; threatened the pirates, utterly to spoil and ruin them ; acquainted them with the design of Aurang-Zebe upon Rakan ; that a potent army of the Dutch was near ; that they should think on themselves and their families if they were wise ; and in a word if they would abandon the service of the King of Rakan and take that of Aurang-Zebe he would procure very good conditions for them, distribute amongst them as much land in Bengal as they desired, and and pay them the double of what they had now.

It is doubtful whether these menaces and promises made impression upon them or whether it was an accident that moved them ; they having about that assassinated one of the chief officers of the King of Rakan, and apprehending a punishment for that crime : however it be, they were caught, and they were one day struck with such a panic terror, that they shipped themselves all at once in forty or fifty of their galeasses, and wafted over to Bengal to Shah-hest-khan, and that with so much precipitation, that they hardly took time to embark their wives and children and what else was most precious to them. Shah-hest-khan received them with open arms, courted them exceedingly gave them yet considerable pay, and without letting them cool, made them jointly with his whole army, to attack and take the isle of Sondiva which was fallen into the hands of the King of Rakan ; and thence to pass with all his horse and foot to Chatigon. About this time the two Holland vessels arrived ; but Shah-hest-khan, who thought that henceforth it would be easy for him to compass his design, thanked them. I saw these ships in Bengal ; and their commanders who were but little contented with such thanks and liberalities of Shah-hest khan. As to the pirates, [since now



he holds them fast, and hopeless of ever returning to Chatigon, and hath no more need of them, he makes nothing of all those large promises he made them, and treats them not as he should, but as they deserve, leaving them whole months without pay, and not looking upon them otherwise than traitors, and infamous men, unfit to be trusted, after they have so vilely deserted him, whose salt thy had eaten so many years. After this manner did Shah-hest-khan put an end to this rabble, which, as I said, have ruined and despoiled all the lower Bengal. Time will shew whether he will be as happy in the remainder of his enterprize against the King of Rakan.

The fourth particular is concerning the two sons of Aurang-Zebe, viz. Sultan Mahmoud, and Sultan Mazum. He still keeps the first of them in Gowalior, but (if one may believe the common report) without making him take the Poust, which is the ordinary drink of those that are put into the place. As to the other, though he hath always been a pattern of reservedness and moderation, yet one knows not whether he was not too forward in making a party when his father was so extremely sick; or whether Aurang-Zebe have not upon others occasions perceived something that might give him cause of jealousy: or whether he had not a mind to make an authentic proof of both his obedience and courage. However it be, one day he commanded him in an unconcerned manner, in a full assembly of the Omrahs to go and kill a lion, that was come down the mountains, and had made great havock and waste in the country; and this he did without giving order to furnish him with those strong and large nets, which they are wont to employ in this dangerous kind of hunting in a real mood; telling the great hunting-master, who presently called for those nets, that when he was prince, he did not look for such formalities. It was the good fortune of Sultan Mazum that he prospered in this attempt, not loosing any more than two

or three men, and some horses that were wounded, although on the other hand, the matter went off not so pleasantly, the wounded lion having leaped up to the head of the Sultan's elephant. Since that time Aurang-Zebe hath not been backward to express much affection to him; he hath given him even the government of Decan, though with so little power and treasure, that there is no great cause to apprehend any thing upon that account.

The fifth thing toucheth Mohabet-Khan, the governor of Kabul, whom Aurang-Zebe took from his government, and generously pardoned; not willing, as he said, to lose so brave a captain, and that had stuck so close to his benefactor Shah-Jehan. He made him even governor of Guzerat in the place of Jessomseigne, whom he sent to make war in Decan. It may very well be, that some considerable presents he made to Rauchenara-Begum, and a good number of excellent Persian horse and camels, wherewith he presented Aurang-Zebe together with fifteen or sixteen thousand rupees of gold, did contribute to make his piece.

On this occasion of mentioning the governor of Kabul, which borders on the kingdom of Kandahar, which is now in the hands of the Persians, I shall here briefly add some particulars, that serve to this history, and will still more discover that country and declare the interests between Hindustan and Persia, which nobody that I know of, hath explained hitherto.

Kandahar, that strong and important place, which is the capital and the swaying city of this noble and rich kingdom of the same name, hath in these latter ages been the subject of grievous wars between the Moguls and Parsians, each of them pretending a right thereto. Akbar the great King of the India, took it by force from the Persians, and kept it during his life. And Shah-Abbas, that famous King of Persia, retook it from Jehan-Guyre, the son of Akbar. Afterwards it returned to Shah-Jehan, son of Jehan-Guyre, not

by the sword but by the means of the governor Aly-Murda-khan, who surrendered it to him and went over to live at his court, apprehending the artifice of his enemies, who had brought him into disfavour with the King of Persia, that sent for him to make him give an account, and to deliver up his government. The same city was besieged and retaken afterwards by the son of Shah-Abbas, and since that besieged twice again, yet without being taken by Shah-Jehan. The first time it was saved from being taken by the ill understanding and jealousy between the Persian Omrahs, that are pensioners of the Great Mogul, and the most powerful of his court as also by the respect they bear to their natural king: for they all behaved themselves very effeminately in the siege, and would not follow the Raja Roop, who had already planted his standards upon the wall on the sides of the mountain. The second time it was saved by the jealousy of Aurang-Zebe, who would not fall into the breach of the wall, that our Franguis, the English, Portugeze, German and the French had made by their cannon though it was a large one; between unwilling to have it said, that in the time of Dara, who was in a manner the first mover of that enterprize, and was then in the city of Kabul, with his father Shah-Jehan, the fortress of Kandahar was taken. Shah-Jehan some years before the late trouble, was also ready to besiege it the third time, had not Amir-Jemla diverted him from it, advising him to turn his forces towards Decan. (as hath been said,) with whom Ali-Merdan-khan himself concurred, who was so earnest in his dissuading him from it, as to say to him these words, which I shall punctually relate, as having something extravagant in them :

“Your majesty will never take Kandahar, unless you had such a traitor there as myself; except you were resolved never to bring a Persian into it, and to make the bazars or

markets wholly free, that is to say no impost on those that furnish the army with provision."

At length, Aurang-Zebe, like the others, had prepared himself in these latter years to besiege it also; whether it was that he was offended at the tart letters written to him by the King of Persia, or by reason of the affronts and ill treatment which he had offered to Tabiet-khan his ambassador; that hearing of the King of Persia's death he turned back, saying, (which yet is not very credible) that he would not meddle with a child, a new king, although Shah Soliman who hath succeeded his father, is in my opinion, about twenty five years of age.

The sixth particular we purposed to speak of concerns those that have faithfully served Aurang-Zebe. Those he hath almost all raised to great places. For first, as we have already related, he made Shah-hest-khan, his uncle, governor and general of the army of Decan, and afterwards governor of Bengal. Next he made Mir-khan governor of Kabul; then Kalil-ullah-khan of Lahore; and Mirbaba of Elabas; and Laskar-khan of Patna. The son of that Allah-Verdi-khan of Sultan-Sujah, he appointed governor of Scimdy; and Fazel khan, who had considerably served him both by his counsels and dexterity, he made Kane-saman that is, great steward of the house royal: and Danechmend-khan, governor of Delhi, with this particular grace and privilege, that since he is perpetually employed in studies and foreign affairs he so dispenseth with him for not coming twice a day (after the ancient custom) to wait on the King in the assembly, as not to retrench any thing of his pension for his absence, as he doth to the other Omrahs, if they fail. He hath given to Dianet-khan the governor of Kashmer (alias Cassimera), that little and in a manner inaccessible kingdom, which Akbar seized on by craft, that earthly paradise of the Indies; which hath its histories written in its peculiar language; whereof I have an abridg-

ment in the Persian tongue, made by the command of Jehan Guyre, containing a large catalogue of many very ancient kings, that often were so powerful, that they subdued the Indies as far as China.

It is true, that Aurang-Zebe dismissed that Nejabat-khan who did very well in the two battles of Samnogueur and Kadjoue, but then it is not fit at all that a subject should ever reproach his King, as he did, with the services done him.

As to those luminous men, Gion-khan and Nazer, it is known, that the former hath been recompenced as he deserved; but the other no man knows what is become of him.

What concerns Jessonseigne and Jesseigne, there is something as to them that is intricate which I shall endeavour to unfold. There is a certain heathen revolted from the King of Visapour, who knew how to possess himself of many important fortresses, and of some sea-ports of that King. His name is Sivaji, that is Lord Seva. He is a stout man, valiant, bold, and undertaking in the highest degree, who gave Shah-hest-khan more work and trouble in Deccan than the King of Visapour with all his forces, and all his Rajas joined with him and their common defence, Inso-much, that having designed to take away Shah-hest-khan and his treasures out of the midst of his army and of the town of Aurenge-Abad, he carried on his design so far that he had effected it, if he had not been discovered a little too soon: for one night, accompanied with a number of resolute fellows he hath about him, he was got into the very apartment of Shah-hest-khan, where his son who was forward in the defence, was killed, and himself grievously wounded; Sivaji, in the mean time, getting away as well as he came: who for all this was so far from being daunted, that he undertook another very bold and very dangerous enterprize, which succeeded much better. He took two or three

thousand chosen men of his army, with whom he took the field without noise, spreading a report by the way, that it was a Raja going to the court. When he was near Suratte, that famous and rich port of the Indies, instead of marching further (as he made the great provost of that country, whom he met believe, he fell into that town, where he staid about three days, cutting off the arms and legs of the inhabitants to make them confess where were the treasures; searching, digging, and loading away, or burning what he could not carry with him. Which done, he returned, none opposing his return, loaden with millions of gold, silver, pearls, silken stuffs, fine lilen, and other rich merchandise. Jessomseigne was expected to have had since intelligence with this Sivaji, which was the cause that Aurang-Zebe called him away from Decan; but he, instead of going to Delhi, went to his own territory.

I forgot to mention, that In the plunder of Surat, the ring-leader Sivaji, like a saint, had so much respect to the house of the reverend Father Ambrose, a missionary Capuchin, that he gave order it should not be plundered; because, said he, I know that the fathers Franguis are good men. He had also regard to the house of the deceased de Lale, because he understood that he had been great almoner. He also considered the house of the English and Dutch, not from devotion, as he did the former, but because they were in a good posture of defence; especially the English, who having had time to send for assistance from some of their ships that lay near the towne, behaved themselves gallantly, and saved, besides their own, several other houses near them. But a certain Jew, of Constantinople, who had brought rubies of a very great value, to sell them to Aurang-Zebe, carried away the bell from all, by saving himself from the hands of Sivaji: for, rather than to confess that he had any jewels, he was brought thrice upon his knees, and the knife held up to cut his throat. But it be-

came none save a Jew, hardened in avarice, to escape in such a manner.

Touching Jesseigne, King Aurang-Zebe made him content to go general to the army in Decan, sending Sultan Mazum with him without any power. He presently and vigorously besieged the principal fort-ess of Sivaji and knowing more than all the rest in matter of negociation and treaty, he so ordered the business, that Sivaji surrendered before it came to extremity; and then he drew him to Aurang-Zebe's party against Visapour, King Aurang-Zebe declaring him a Raja, taking him under his protection, and giving the pension of a very considerable Omrah to his son. Some time after, Aurang-Zebe designing to make war against Persia, wrote to Sivaji such obliging letters touching his generosity, ability, and conduct, that he made him resolve upon the faith of Jesseigne, to come to him to Delhi. There a kinswoman of Aurang-Zebe, the wife of Shah-hesht-khan (who was then at court), by the influence she had upon the spirit of Aurang-Zebe, perswaded him to arrest him that had murdered her son, wounded her husband, and sacked Surat; so that one evening Sivaji saw his pavilion beset with three or four Omrahs; but he made shift to get away in the night. This escape made a great noise at court, every one accusing to the eldest son of the Raja Jesseigne to have assisted him in it. Jesseigne, who presently got news that Aurang-Zebe was very angry with him and his son was advised no more to go to the court, was day and night upon his guard, apprehending lest Aurang-Zebe should take this for a pretence to fall upon his lands, and possess himself of them. Whereupon he also soon left Decan to secure his estate; but when he was at Brampur, he died. Yet notwithstanding Aurang-Zebe was so far from expressing any coldness or resentment to the son of Jesseigne, that he sent to condole with him for the death of his father, and continued to him his pension; which confirms what many say, that it was by

the consent of Aurang-Zebe himself that Sivaji escaped, for as much as he could retain him no longer at court, because all the women there had too great a spleen against him and looked upon him as a man that had embroiled his hands in the blood of his kinsmen.

But to return to Decan, we are to consider, that that is a kingdom, which these forty years hath constantly been the theatre of war, and upon the score whereof the Mogul hath much to do with the Kings of Golconda. and of Visapour, and divers little sovereigns; which is not to be understood, unless it be known, what considerable things have passed in those parts, and the condition of the princes that govern them.

All this great peninsula of Hindusthan, cutting it from the bay of Cambaja unto the Bengal near Jaganrate, and passing thence to Cape Comorin, was scarce two or three years since entirely (some mountainous parts excepted) under the dominion of the Prince who consequently was a very great and very potent monarch; but now it is divided among many different sovereigns, that are also of different religions. The cause of this division was that the King Ramras, the last of those that have possessed this mighty state entirely, did imprudently raise three slaves, Gurgis, he had about him too high, so as to make them all three governors of places: the first, of the greatest part of those countries, which at present are possessed by the Mogul in Decan, about Daulet-Abad, from Bider, Paranda, Surat unto Narbadar: the second, of all the other lands, now comprehended under the king dom of Visapour: and the third, of all that is contained under the kingdom of Golkonda. These three slaves grew very rich, and found themselves supported by a good number of the Moguls that were in the service of Ramras, because they were all three Mahometans of the sect Chyas, like the Persians. And at length they all revolted together with one accord, killed King Ramras,



and returned to their government, each taking upon him the title of Shah or King. The issue of Ramras, not finding themselves strong enough for them, were content to keep themselves in a corner, viz. in that country which is commonly called Karnatek in our maps, Bisnagher, where they are still Rajas to this very day. All the rest of the state was also at the same time divided into all those Rajas, Naires, and petty kings such as we see there. These three slaves and their posterity have always defended themselves very well in their kingdoms, whilst they kept a good mutual correspondence, and assisted one another in their grievous wars against the Moguls. But when they once came to them every one to defend their lands apart, they soon found the effects of their division. For the Mogul so well knew to take his time on that occasion (which is now about thirty-five or forty years since,) that he possessed himself within a little time of all the country of Nejam-Shah, or King Nejam; the fifth or sixth of the family of the first slave and at last took him prisoner in Daulet-Abad, the capital, where he died.

After that time, the Kings of Golconda have maintained themselves well enough; not as if they could compare with the power of the Mogul, but because the Mogul hath always been employed against the two others; from whom he was to take Ambar, Paranda, Bider, and some other places, before he could conveniently march towards Golconda: and because they have always been so politic, being very opulent, as to furnish underhand the Kiege of Visapour with money and thereby to help him to maintain a war against the Mogul. Before that, they ever have a considerable army on foot, which is always ready, and never it is to take the field, and to approach to the frontiers, at this time when there is news that that of the Mogul marches against Visapour; to let the Mogul see, not only that they are always ready to defend themselves, but also that they could easily assist the King of Visapour, in case he should be reduced to

any extremity. Next, which is very considerable, they know also how to convey many underhand to the Chieftains of the Mogolian army; who therefore advise the court, that it is more to purpose to attack Visapour, as being nearer to Daulet-Abad. Further, they send every year very considerable presents to the Great Mogul, by way of tribute, which consist partly in some rare manufactures of the country; partly in elephants, which they send for from Pegu, Siam, and Ceilan, partly in fair ready money. Lastly, the Mogul considers that kingdom as his own, not only because he looks upon the king thereof as his Tributary, but chiefly, since that agreement hitherto before spoken of which the present king made with Aureng-Zebe, when he besieged Golkonda; and there being also no place able to resist, even from Daulet-Abad into Golkonda, he judgeth, that when he shall think, fit to push for it, he may take in the whole kingdom in one campaign; which, in my opinion, he would certainly have done, if he did not apprehend, lest sending its forces towards Golkonda, and the king of Visapour should enter into Decan; as no doubt, he would do, knowing it to be very important to his conservation, that the kingdom may always subsist as now it is.

From all which, something may be understood of the interests and government of the king of Golkonda with the Mogul, and what way he taketh to support himself against him, yet notwithstanding all this, I find this State much shaken, in regard that the king that now is since that unhappy affair of Aureng-Zebe and Emir Jemla, seems to have lost heart, and as 'twere abandoned the reins of the of the kingdom, not daring any more to go forth of this fortress of Golkonda, not so much as appear in public to give audience to his people, and to render Justice, according to the custom of the country: which discomposeth things very much, and occasions the grandees to tyrannize over the meaner sort of people, and to lose even their respect

to the King, often slighting his commands, and considering him no more than a woman ; and the people, weary of the injustice and ill-treatment, breathing after nothing, but Aureng-Zebe, 'Tis easy to judge of the straight this poor King is in, by four or five particulars I am about to relate.

The first, that *Anno* 1667, when I was at Golkonda, King Aureng-Zebe having sent an Ambassador Extraordinary to declare war to the King, unless he would furnish with ten thousand horse against Visapour, he did extraordinary honor, and give excessive presents to that Ambassador, as well for him in particular, as for Aureng-Zebe, and made an agreement with him, to send him, not ten thousand horse, but as much money as necessary to maintain so many ; which was all that Aureng-Zebe looked for.

The second is, that Aureng-Zebe's Ambassador in ordinary, that is constantly at Golkonda, commands, treating, striketh, gives pass-ports, and saith and doth whatsoever he will, no man daring with the least word to cross him.

The third is, that Mahmet-Emir-kan, the son of Emir-Jemla, though he be no more than a Single *Omrah* of Aureng-Zebe is yet so much respected through that whole kingdom, and especially in Masalipatan, that the Taptata, his Commissioner, is, as 'twere, master thereof, buying and selling, in bringing in and sending abroad his merchant's ships, nobody daring to contradict him in anything, nor to demand any customs. So great was once the power of Emir-Jemla his father in this kingdom, which time hath not yet been able to root out.

The fourth is, that the Hollander's scruple not to threaten him something, to lay an embargo upon all the merchant's ships of the country that are in that part, and not to let them go out, until their demands be granted as also to put in protestations against him : which I have seen actually done, upon the account of an English vessel, which they had a mind to take by force in the port of

Masalipatan itself, the Governor having hindered it, by arming the whole town against them, and threatening to put fire to their Factory, and to put them all to death.

A Fifth is, that the Portuguese, as poor and miserable, and decayed, as they are in the Indies, yet stick not to threaten that king also war; and that they will come and sack Maslipatan, and all that Coast, if he will not render them that place of St. Thomas. which some years ago, they choose to put into his hand; rather than to be constrained to yield it up to the Dutch.

Yet for all this, I have been informed in Golkonda by very intelligent persons, that this King is a Prince of very great judgment, and that whatever he so does and suffers, is only in policy, to the end, to provoke nobody, and principally to remove all suspicion from Aureng-Zebe, and to give him to understand, that he hath in a manner no share any more in the kingdom; but that in the mean time a son of his, that is kept hid, grows up, the father watching for a fit time to declare him king and so to laugh at the agreement made with Aureng-Zebe. Of this, time will shew us more; in the mean time, let us consider somewhat of the interests of Visapour.

The kingdom of Visapour hath also not been wanting to support it self, though the Mogul do almost continually make war against it; not so much as if he of Visapour were able to bid head to the Mogolian forces, but because there is never any great effort used against him, for it is not very frequent there is no more that 'tis elsewhere, for Generals of armies to desire the end of a war; there being nothing so charming, as to be in the head of an army, commanding like little kings, remote from the court. It is also grown to be a proverb, that Decan is the bread and life of the soldiers of Hindustan. Besides, the country of Visapour is on the side of the Mogul's dominions of a very difficult access, upon the account of the scarcity of good

waters, forage, and victuals; and because Visapour, the capital city is very strong, and situate in a dry and sterile country, there being almost no good water but in the town. And lastly, because there are many fortresses in that country, seated on hills hard to climb.

Yet notwithstanding all this, that state is much shaken, if considering that the Mogul hath taken Paranda, the key, as 'twere, of that kingdom; also of that fair and strong town Bider, and other very important places: but principally, because the last king of Visapour died without heirs males, and he that now calls himself king is a youth, whom the Queen, sister of the king of Golkonda, hath raised, and taken for her son (a favour for which he hath made an ill return, having shewed no esteem for this queen after her return from Mecca, under the pretext of some ill demeanour in her on a Dutch vessel that carried her to Moka: ) Lastly, because that in the disorders of that kingdom, the Heathen-rebel, Seva-Gi, above discoursed of, found means to seize on many strong holds, mostly seated on steep mountains, where he now acteth the king, laughing at the Visapour, and the Mogul, and ravaging the country every where, from Suratte, even to the gates of Goa. This notwithstanding, if he wrongs Visapour one way, he helps to support it another, forasmuch as he is resolutely bent against the Mogul, preparing always some ambush, and cutting so much work for his army, that there is no discourse, no apprehension but of Seva-Gi; in so much that he hath come and sacked Suratte, and pillaged the isle of Burdes, which belongs to the Portuguese, and is near the gates of Goa.

The Seventh particular which I learned at Golkonda, when I was come away from Delhi, is the death of Shah-Jehan; and that Aureng-Zebe had been exceedingly affected therewith, having discovered all the marks of grief, that a son can express for the loss of his father: that at the very hour of receiving that news, he went towards Agra; that

Begum-Sahib caused the Mosque, and a certain place, where he was at first to stop, before he entered the fortress to be hung with richly embroidered tapisteries; that at his entering into the seraglio, she presented him with a great golden bason, wherein were all her jewells, and all those of Shah-Jehan; and in short, that she knew to receive him with that dexterity and craft, that she obtained his pardon, gained his favour, and grew very confident with him.

To conclude, I doubt not, but most of those, who shall have read my history, will judge the ways taken by Aureng-Zebe, for getting the empire, very violent and horrid. I pretend not all to pleade for him, but desire only that before he be altogether condemned, reflection be made on that unhappy custom of this state, which leaving the succession of the Crown undecided, for want of good Laws, settling it, as amongst us, upon the eldest son, exposeth it to the conquest of the strongest and the most fortunate, subjecting at the same time all the Princes born in the Royal Family, by the condition of their birth, to the cruel necessity either to overcome, or to reign, by destroying all the rest, for the assurance of their power and life, or to perish themselves, for the security of that of others: for I am apt to behave, that upon this consideration, the reader will not find Aureng-Zebe's conduct so strange as at first it appeared. However I am persuaded, that those who shall a little weigh this whole history, will not take Aureng-Zebe for a barbarian, but for a Great and rare Genius, a Great Statesman, and a Great King.